University of Alberta

Q AND GALILEE: ANCIENT URBANIZATION AND MODERN RECONSTRUCTIONS

by

Sarah E. Rollens

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Religious Studies

Edmonton, Alberta
September 2008

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Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-46979-8
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-46979-8

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ABSTRACT

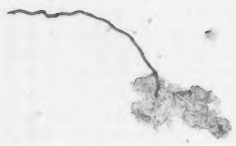
The Sayings Gospel, also known as Q, appears to be the product of a group drawn from the scribal sector of Galilee. Building upon the most current reconstructions of first-century Galilee, this thesis examines textual evidence in Q and argues for the authors' familiarity with urban centres and activities in the region. This familiarity and engagement with the urban sphere is explained well by the socio-economic reconstruction of Galilee. Despite their familiarity, the Q people's attitudes and the social program that they advance express hostility and suspicion towards aspects of the urban environment. In addition, modern reconstructions of Galilee, which are used to explain Q's rhetoric, seem to be related to presuppositions about the beginnings of Galilean Christianity. It is argued that Q in its Galilean setting must be disentangled from modern assumptions about Christian origins and Jesus in order to understand the setting of Q, and it is furthermore hoped that Q may be taken as independent evidence for first-century Galilee.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and thank several important people for their support, supervision, and/or valuable criticism: Willi Braun, Francis Landy, Selina Stewart, and Herb Berg.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, whose support throughout my entire education thus far has been ceaseless, as I am certain it will always be.



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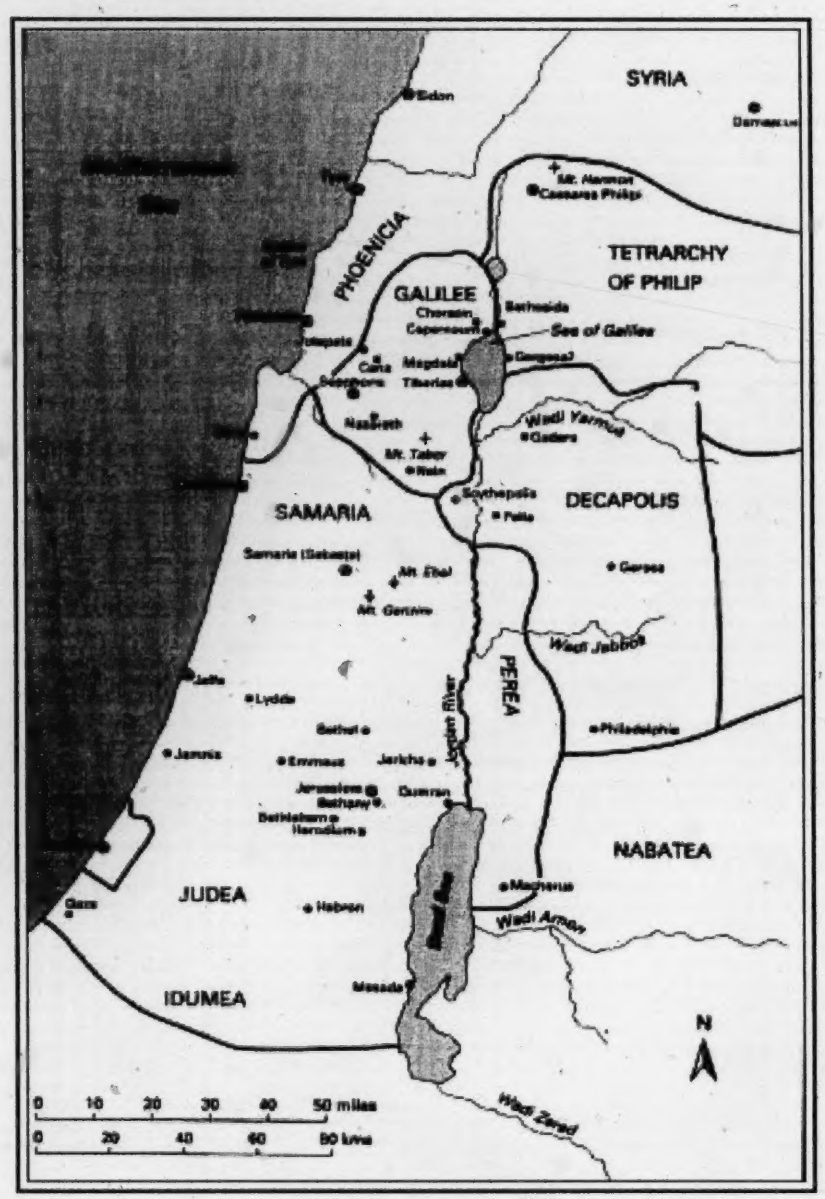

Figure 1

Map of Palestine in the First Century[1]

[1] Taken from K.C. Hanson and Douglas E. Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflict* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002).

INTRODUCTION

Nearly a century ago, B. H. Streeter argued that the Sayings Gospel, or Q,[2] was best understood as an instructional supplement to the central doctrine of Jesus' passion.[3] The opinion that Q is somehow secondary or less important than other early Christian teachings, however, is extremely problematic. Scholars are beginning to see that Q has an independent theology and a perspective that need not and most importantly, *should not* be harmonized with the theology and perspective of that which later became orthodox Christianity.

As an autonomous document, then, Q appears to have a particular agenda and a specific set of concerns, and even though it was later altered and incorporated into the canonical gospels of Matthew and Luke, the text is not overtly "Christian," nor did the authors find it necessary to make Q a document wholly about Jesus. Rather, the Q people appear to be closely engaged with and critical of the people and the places that were immediate in the authors' world. Consequently, understanding Q depends on understanding the environment in which Q was composed.

My argument is that the Q people had an intimate familiarity with the urban setting in Galilee. In addition, the Q people's familiarity and stance towards the urban environment is explained well by many features of the Galilean socio-economic structure and administrative system. Moreover, I am persuaded by William E. Arnal's recent

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[2] The Sayings Gospel, also known as Q, short for German *Quelle*, is the hypothetical source document which the authors of the gospels of Matthew and Luke drew upon in the composition of their respective gospels. Q primarily consists of sayings and wisdom statements and has little narrative material.

[3] B. H. Streeter, "The Literary Evolution of the Gospels," in *Studies in the Synoptic Problem by members of the University of Oxford* (ed. W. Sanday; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911) 215.

study, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, which argues that the composition of Q was the direct response to the pressures and changes that accompanied the process of urbanization.

The need to study the context of early Christian groups is of the utmost import for understanding their social formation. In my opinion, it is no longer feasible to assume that Christianity's ultimate success was due to its attractive message of the forgiveness of sins or of the promise of an afterlife. It is necessary to think more creatively about why a document like Q might have been composed. *Why* did the authors of Q appear hostile towards the very wealthy people in their world? *Why* did they view the legal system as a last resort for their problems? *Why* did the circumstances of the Q people cause them to voice their ideological protest and social critique by composing a document such as Q? These questions are best explained by examining the social circumstances contemporary with the Q people.

The outline of my argument is fairly straightforward. Chapter One examines the text of Q for the authors' familiarity with an urban environment. Through spatial orientation and geographical references, I show the Q people to be familiar with many features and activities characteristic of an urban setting. Moreover, many of the situations in Q implicitly presuppose a certain familiarity with an urban environment for their rhetorical effectiveness. Essentially, the Q people, and possibly a significant number of Galileans, appear to be familiar with both urban and rural settings; fluidity is evident between spheres. The common assumption of the isolation of the rural environment from the urban environment does not explain the perspective seen in Q.

Chapter Two discusses the social and geographical location of the authors, who seem to be best placed in Galilee within the scribal sector. I then reconstruct the socio-economic structures in first-century Galilee, many aspects of which are presupposed by the text of Q. This reconstruction relies heavily on literary evidence from Josephus, as well as archaeological evidence. Where the evidence is incomplete, I tentatively supply evidence from Judea or other parts of the Roman Empire, although no conclusion is based solely on evidence outside Galilee. Finally, the chapter examines Q's attitude toward the urban environment. The text is notably critical of many aspects accompanying urbanization, but at the same time, evinces familiarity, and consequently engagement with, the urban setting.

Chapter Three situates the discussion of Q's urban knowledge in Galilee within the larger debate about the most accurate reconstruction of Galilee. I suggest that Q should be taken as an independent cache of evidence for first-century Galilee, especially since currently the literary evidence for the region is so limited. Q is indicative of certain religious and literary patterns in Galilee, whether widespread or atypical. The chapter also highlights the variety of modern reconstructions of Galilee. I show that these variations are related to theological assumptions about embryonic Christianity. I examine the most patent modern reconstructions of Galilee and ask whether Q can affect any of these typical understandings. These concerns in Chapter Three are intrinsically related to those of the previous chapters, for any scholarly attempt to read Q against its Galilean context makes an implicit judgment about the most accurate reconstruction of Galilee. I attempt, therefore, to sort through these depictions of Galilee to understand their strengths as well as their weaknesses in order to uncover the theological assumptions.

I demonstrate in this thesis that knowing about Galilee in the first century is fundamental for understanding Q's rhetoric and simultaneously that Q provides much significant information about Galilee. Q may tell us nothing about Jesus' passion or the birth of Christianity as Streeter had hoped, but it nevertheless provides the modern scholar with insights into a specific place and time about which much has been written and assumed, but for which our sources remain unfortunately very sparse.

CHAPTER 1

Q'S KNOWLEDGE OF AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the internal textual evidence that Q[4] provides about its setting and to determine to what extent the authors were familiar with an urban environment. This is initially a modest approach. The objective is not to locate the Q people within a *particular* major urban centre, for that strategy has not withstood recent criticism.[5] Rather, the point is to demonstrate that Q's references to Galilean towns and villages, the organization of its narrative world, and its presuppositions of many urban

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[4] Although I agree with the standard literary stratification of Q, this analysis will not differentiate between Q's redactions or exclude any particular stratum. My reasoning is multifold: First, the entirety of Q can be dated before 70 C.E. (some parts certainly earlier), and so the entire document was produced during a time of intense economic change in the Galilee. Thus, all the material was produced within the time period in which this analysis is interested. Second, the present analysis focuses on the text *as a whole* and does not privilege any "authentic" or originary material. Since Q^2 retained the formative layer and Q^3 retained both Q^1 and Q^2, we can surmise that the later redactions were not opposed to earlier material. There is a certain amount of ideological consistency among the redactions. Third and related to the last point, in separate studies both William E. Arnal ("The Q Document," in *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts* [ed. Matt Jackson-McCabe; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005]) and Willi Braun ("Socio-Mythic Invention, Graeco-Roman Schools, and the Sayings Gospel Q," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 11 [1999]: 210-35), have demonstrated that Q's redactions indicate a "custodial group" (Braun's term) that had an interest in the core material through time. That is, the same group of people, though perhaps not retaining the exact same membership through time, had an investment in maintaining and developing its identity in Q over an extended period of time. Accordingly, we do not need to imagine vastly different sets of authors for each redactional layer. So also regarding at least Q^1 and Q^2, William E. Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes: Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) 163: "The literary evidence is unanimous in suggesting that Jesus lived in Galilee and that a major portion of his public activity took place along the northern shores of the lake…It appears unlikely that a group based at the northwestern side of the lake, a group that viewed Jesus as a founding figure, would have drawn traditions about him from outside of this geographical area. Obviously, this consideration is not probative, but it does serve to underscore the likelihood that the people responsible for Q^1 were, more or less, the same people who were responsible for Q^2." In sum, there is no compelling reason to exclude any part of the material from this analysis.

[5] See, for example, Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 163-64.

situations indicate that the authors did have some knowledge of the urban setting[6] in first-century Galilee.[7]

Geographical References and Spatial Orientation

Q mentions several specific locations throughout Palestine. The size and significance of these places are not uniform. Jerusalem, for instance, was without a doubt a settlement of great size, but in contrast, Chorazin was relatively small and insignificant.[8] In view of the handful of locations that Q bothers to single out, we should ask if the text *explicitly* locates itself in any of these specific settings. The modern scholarly consensus is no—the extent of Q's current reconstruction[9] does not reveal an *exact* geographical location in

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[6] At this preliminary stage of the analysis, issues of terminology must be postponed until the end of the discussion. The precise characteristics of "urban" are problematic, and so rather than assume an anachronistic definition and try to impose that definition on the text, the analysis will start more modestly and let the setting of Q arise organically from the text. Hence, this chapter begins by describing Q's setting based on evidence found in the text alone, and only then considers that setting in terms of "urban" and "rural."

[7] Very briefly, I should explain why this thesis focuses on the first century C.E. Q is dated very confidently to that period. Some of the earliest materials in Q have been tentatively dated to as early as the 40s C.E (Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 165-68). The *terminus ante quem* for the final redaction is usually dated before 70 C.E., since the text shows no overt knowledge of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. See John S. Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000) 80-87.

[8] On the obscurity of Q's named Galilean towns, see for example Jonathan L. Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-Examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2002) 184; Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 160.

[9] James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffman, and, John S. Kloppenborg, eds. (The International Q Project), *The Critical Edition of Q: Synopsis Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas with English, German, and French translations of Q and Thomas* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000). Henceforth, all citations from Q follow the standard reconstruction according to the International Q Project (IQP). Needless to say, this reconstruction is claimed to represent a hypothetical document for which we possess no physical manuscript. However, in my and others' opinions, discrepancies in grammar, syntax, and redactional interests in Matthew and Luke have been successfully identified and dealt with, and the objection that Q is "merely hypothetical" is not warranted (cf. Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q*, 11-12). Scholars can assume a reasonable confidence in reconstructing the original wording and extent of Q. On the whole, the standard reconstruction of Q explains much of the synoptic "problem," and thus my thesis takes for granted the text as it stands in *The Critical Edition of Q*. I note clearly the rare occasion when this thesis or another work that it cites diverges from the standard reconstruction.

which the document might be placed. It is possible, however, to turn a creative eye to Q's references in order to assign it at least generally to a *type* of place.

Jonathan L. Reed's seminal essay "The Social Map of Q" analyzes Q's use of place names and spatial orientation, and his essay is the starting point for this discussion. He argues that Q's use of cities and towns outlines its "social map," defined as "shared symbolic system of spatial and social orientation."[10] A social map need not correlate *directly* with the physical environment, but nonetheless it reflects the authors' symbolic understanding of themselves within their particular context. Despite its lack of a coherent narrative structure, Q demonstrates a colourful social map with its references to obscure villages such as Chorazin (Q 10:13) and topographic features such as "waterless regions" (Q 11:24). Reed argues that it is necessary to view these places as deemed implicitly significant by Q: "Most places mentioned, spatial allusions, and climatic conditions are not in themselves the content of the teaching but appear reflexively and unintentionally as illustrations to score a theological point or foster paranesis."[11] Thus, because of its limited spatial references, the scholar can speculate about the symbolic value of the cities and towns which *are* present in the text.

Cities, Towns, and Villages

Q contains nine references to *specific* named geographical locations, but the text's treatment of these locations is not uniform. The first city the reader meets in the text is

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[10] Jonathan L. Reed, "The Social Map of Q," in *Conflict and Intervention: Literary, Rhetorical, and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995) 18. A slightly expanded version of this essay appeared in Reed's 2002 book, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-examination of the Evidence.*

[11] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 173.

Jerusalem, which serves as the setting for Jesus' temptation in Q 4:1-13. Interestingly, the temptation story does not seem that interested in Jerusalem as a geographical location. Rather the city functions to provide a dramatic setting for one of Jesus' temptations: it is "on the tip of the temple" in Jerusalem where Jesus resists the second of three temptations by the devil.[12] Strictly speaking, this scene would have been effective by being located on any elevated place. Jerusalem also provides the setting wherein Jesus pronounces scripture (Q 4:10, 12: "It is written…") in response to the devil's temptation, although similar pronouncements occur in the wilderness (Q 4:1-4) and on a high mountain (Q 4:5-8). These points suggest that the temptation story, a very late redactional addition to the document,[13] does not show any interest in Jerusalem as a physical city. Its significance in this passage is better understood as a religious symbol of first-century Judaism. And if one agrees with William E. Arnal that Q's redactions show evidence of the authors' tendency to increasingly embrace "mainstream" Judaism, Jerusalem's presence in this redactional section of text is not without significance.[14]

Jerusalem appears again in the highly polemical discourse in Q 13:34-35: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, who kills the prophets and stones those sent to her! How often I wanted to gather your children together, as a hen gathers her nestlings under her wings, and you were not willing! Look, your house is forsaken! I tell you, you will not see me until the time when you say: Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!"

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[12] The International Q Project has determined that the order of the temptations as they appear in Luke is not Q's original order. Despite the IQP's general tendency to follow Lukan order, the scene in Jerusalem is more accurately placed as the second temptation, as it is on Matthew.

[13] John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987) 247-48.

[14] Arnal, "The Q Document," 149.

Again, there is not much interest in Jerusalem as a physical location; there is nothing apparent in the text which would indicate that Q has an intimate familiarity with the city *as an municipal entity*: no commentary on Jerusalem's priestly hierarchy, its political structure, or its social atmosphere. The only indication that Jerusalem is important as a physical location is the mention that prophets were "sent" there, a reference that necessitates a physical location. Thus, Q does not display a social or economic attachment to the city so much as an emotional one.[15] Instead, the city is personified as an exceptionally disobedient agent, whose behaviour the Q people lament. From Q's perspective, it is a "distant, spiritually barren city"[16] and "the focus of unbelief and non-acceptance."[17] Jerusalem, then, from these brief but telling references in Q, is likely not the location of the Q people. More to the point, they are unfamiliar with the city as a municipal entity; it functions as a semi-mythological agent in their imagination and their rhetoric.

Q is most intimately conscious of a triad of Galilean cities bordering the northern edge of the Sea of Galilee: Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin. Indeed, "while anonymous to the wider Mediterranean and Near Eastern Worlds, Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida were, judging by the acerbic tone of Q 10:13-15's woe oracle, of great prominence to the Q community."[18] Capernaum especially, as noted by several scholars,

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[15] Seán Freyne, "Urban-Rural Relations in First-Century Galilee: Some Suggestions from the Literary Sources," in *Galilee and Gospel: Collected Essays* (Wissenschaftliche untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 125; Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 2000) 53.

[16] Reed, "The Social Map of Q," 23.

[17] John S. Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland: Narrative World and the Beginning of the Sayings Gospel (Q)," in *How Gospels Begin* (=Semeia 52; ed. Dennis E. Smith; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 154.

[18] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus,* 184.

seems to occupy a place of great importance in Q.[19] Despite its underdeveloped narrative structure, the text places Jesus, arguably the "main character" of Q, in Capernaum early in the document (Q 7:1) and has no urgency to locate him anywhere else. Within the text of Q, then, most of Jesus' activity occurs there. It is in Capernaum that Jesus' encounters the centurion's great faith, which has been found "not even in Israel, (Q 7:9)" and also where his audience consists of "crowds" (Q 7:24).[20] It is significant that the authors choose to include the presence of Gentile faith in Capernaum, which indicates they considered the town to be rather cultural diverse. At the same time, despite its centrality, Capernaum, along with Chorazin and Bethsaida, is the object of some of Q's harshest polemic: "And you, Capernaum, up to heaven will you be exalted? Into Hades you shall come down! (Q 10:14)" As for Bethsaida and Chorazin, Q rebukes their unresponsiveness to its message by comparing them with the Gentile cities of Tyre and Sidon to the north: "Yet for Tyre and Sidon it shall be more bearable at the judgment than for you. (Q 10:14)"

In addition, Tyre and Sidon are on Q's horizon, as typical Gentile cities, serving the text's polemical purposes. Their juxtaposition with Bethsaida and Chorazin demonstrates the absolute obstinacy of Galilean towns. John S. Kloppenborg points out that the presence in the text of Tyre and Sidon would no doubt have evoked the numerous

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[19] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 196; Reed, "The Social Map of Q," 30; Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 164.

[20] The figure of the centurion should not be taken as a direct reflection of military presence in Capernaum; the gentile official is only rhetorically useful. Several scholars have pointed out that the Roman army did not have a significant presence in Galilee until a much later date. Mark A. Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 50-51. Similarly, Reed states that it is "historically implausible" to assume that a centurion (literally, "a leader of one hundred) and his subordinates would have been stationed in Capernaum during this time period (*Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus,* 161-162). Both agree that this figure represents the presence of a non-Jew; Reed opines that we might see in this figure part of Antipas' administrative apparatus.

occasions in the Hebrew scriptures in which those cities were "singled out as targets for condemnation."[21] Tyre and Sidon represent typical "bad" Gentile cities and thus are used to shame the Jewish cities of Bethsaida and Chorazin. "The obvious logic," writes Arnal, "is that the various Galilean towns here condemned as so bad that they are worse than notorious sinners and enemies of Israel from epic (scriptural) tradition."[22]

Significantly, the presence of Tyrian coins throughout Galilee indicates that its presence *as a living economic entity* was felt in the region.[23] Accordingly, Reed notes, "[t]he twin cities are exactly what one would expect a lower Galilean group to select: they are the closest gentile cities that are still part of their epic past traditions and that *are still part of their social and economic situation.*"[24] But Q's perspective on these Gentile cities indicates that while the cities are present in the text and are significant in the real world, the authors of Q most likely were not located there.

Q's final references to named places are Sodom (Q 10:12) and Nineveh (Q 11:30; 11:32), neither of which existed in the first century C.E. and so cannot be references to living cities contemporaneous with the Q people. The use of Sodom is especially telling, for as Kloppenborg writes, "In the literature of the second temple period the inhabitants of Sodom…regularly served as a paradigm of persons who bore the full force of

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[21] Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q*, 196.

[22] Arnal, "The Q Document," 143.

[23] It is difficult to establish whether or not *direct* trading took place between Galilee and Tyre: "The presence of a large number of Tyrian coins at a particular site might or might not be the result of direct trade with the city: it might simply reflect how widely used Tyre's mass-produced coins were. (Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*, 171)" See also, Richard A. Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee: The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996) 103. Nevertheless, Horsley probably correctly notes (85) that products from Upper Galilee were consumed in Tyre but that is not indicative of free trade. So also Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 131-132.

[24] Reed, "The Social Map of Q," 22 (emphasis added).

Yahweh's wrath, being cut off without remembrance."[25] Moreover, Kloppenborg has demonstrated the absolute centrality of the Lot story to Q: it "looms large in the architecture of Q."[26] The Lot story provides a context and a rationale for Q's current rhetoric. Thus, these places invoke a significant part story from Israel's epic history and direct it towards Q's rhetorical ends.

It is debated whether Q's awkward reference to Nazareth ("Nazara" Q 4:16) should be included in the reconstruction of the Q text.[27] Without a coherent narrative structure, it is unclear whether the text intends for any of Jesus' actions to take place there; no part of the text *requires* the location of Nazareth either. Moreover, the desire to include Nazareth in Q's reconstruction might be related to theological assumptions about the historical Jesus' association with that village. In any case, the reference to Nazareth is of little utility for describing Q's setting, for the text immediately launches into the beatitudes and other aphoristic sayings, which are all detached from any meaningful narrative context. For Reed, the uncomfortable reference to Nazareth indicates that the village is an insignificant location for Q's narrative map.[28]

Excluding Nazareth, then, the remaining eight cities display a notable spatial distribution; they are "concentric circles" around an "epicentre" (Capernaum) in Lower

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[25] Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland," 152-53.

[26] Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland," 151.

[27] Reed, "The Social Map of Q"; James M. Robinson, "The Sayings Gospel Q," in *The Four Gospels: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. F. Van Segbroeck, et al; Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 100; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992) 361-88. See also, the Synoptic parallels and proposed reconstruction in Robinson, Hoffman, and Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q*, 42-43.

[28] Reed, "The Social Map of Q," 20.

Galilee.[29] Sodom and Nineveh, although clearly not in the actual geographical or chronological vicinity of the Q people, nevertheless form the outer-most border of the physical horizon and of the Q people's imagination. Tyre and Sidon to the north and Jerusalem to the south form a smaller ring. All three cities were "living" at the time Q was composed and had various degrees of socio-political, cultural, and economic influence on Galilee. Chorazin and Bethsaida form the tightest circle with Capernaum at the centre. Reed suggests Capernaum should be at the centre of this "social map," because it is the target of Q's last and arguably harshest "woe" against the three towns. While Chorazin and Bethsaida are rebuked for their lack of repentance, Capernaum is condemned to Hades (Q 10:15). These verses, coupled with the authors' placement of so much of Jesus' activity in this town, indicates Capernaum's centrality. As previously mentioned, it is not *necessary* to locate Q in any specific city or town, but many scholars have noted that the text's intimate familiarity with Capernaum makes it the most "attractive" location for Q's authors.[30]

These eight settlements, nine if Nazareth is included, are the only ones to which Q explicitly refers. That the text uses specific towns as subjects of its criticism at all is significant, for these settlements, like the Pharisees and exegetes of the law (see below), are all opponents as far as the Q people are concerned. Notably absent from Q's references to settlements are Galilee's two urban centres, Sepphoris and Tiberias, whose presence remarkably changed the economic structure of the region during the reign of

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[29] Reed, "The Social Map of Q," 21. Reed also notes that several other Jesus traditions attest to the centrality of Capernaum.

[30] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes,* 164. Reed ("The Social Map of Q," 21) also notes that several other Jesus traditions attest to the centrality of Capernaum.

Antipas. There is perhaps no conclusive reason as to why Q does not mention either of these cities, but in Chapter Two I will consider if their socio-economic or political influence is in view for the authors of Q.

Spatial Organization

In addition to singling out several specific towns and cities, Q also organizes its world by creating a dichotomy between the civilized world and the wilderness regions on its periphery. This structural motif was first discussed by Kloppenborg in his article entitled "City and Wasteland: Narrative World and the Beginning of the Sayings Gospel (Q)." Kloppenborg demonstrates that Q differentiates between these mutually exclusive categories, the city and the wasteland, to give symbolic value to the spaces. For instance, the Israelite cities and towns are "centers of unbelief, opposition and rejection of Jesus and the Q people."[31] Jerusalem, in particular, is a "death trap."[32] Moreover, typical "urban" phenomena, agoras (Q 7:31-34), plazas (Q 13:26), and dinner parties (14:16-20), are set over against simple, less opulent ways of life. The ravens and the lilies (i.e. nature) exist in ways that should be emulated (Q 12:22b-31), and John the Baptist, with his calls for repentance, appears "in the wilderness."[33] Without elaborating too much on the value that Q assigns to these opposing spheres (see my discussion in Chapter Two), it is worth noting how the civilized sphere is unquestionably set in opposition to the

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[31] Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland," 154.

[32] Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland," 154.

[33] Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland," 149. As Kloppenborg notes, Q probably commenced with 3:7a, which must have located John in the wilderness, because it is unlikely to have started without anchoring John's dialogue in some context.

periphery—this dichotomy, a rather familiar trope in the Graeco-Roman world generally, organizes Q's narrative world.[34]

In sum, Q is highly conscious of its organization of physical space. It singles out named locations and differentiates urban and rural spheres of life. If read critically, many of these places indicate that cities, towns, and the more populated areas of Galilee were in view for the Q people. Moreover, its spatial organization, noted best by Kloppenborg, indicates that the authors were well aware of the urban-rural divide, even if it is certain that they would never describe this distinction in those terms. In short, none of these spatial references are without significance, but rather they are intrinsically related to the authors' perspective on the world.

Q's Setting and its Urban Knowledge

Q may contain references to actual cities and towns, but without a narrative structure, it is difficult to anchor the Q "community"[35] in any one particular place. Instead, the scholar must turn to other evidence in the text to examine the unstated world that the document takes for granted behind its rhetorical facade. In much the same way as Reed cautions that all Q's spatial references need not correlate *directly* with the precise and real

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[34] "Narrative world," Kloppenborg ("City and Wasteland," 146) reminds us, does not mean Q has a narrative. Rather, the term signifies "spatial and temporal world within which the sayings are framed and heard."

[35] Kloppenborg ("Literary Convention, Self-Evidence and the Social History of the Q People," in *Early Christianity, Q, and Jesus* [= Semeia 55; eds. John S. Kloppenborg and Leif Vaage; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992] 77) once wrote that there was as great a reason to posit a community behind Q as there was to suppose one behind any of the canonical gospels. He later qualified his statement (*Excavating Q*, 170-71), agreeing with Paul Hoffman's initial rejection to the term "community": "The term 'community' (*Gemeinde*) is problematic insofar as it us used to refer to a discrete and bounded 'church' with a clearly membership, identity rituals, and the mean by which to distinguish its members from other persons residing in the same locale…therefore, the terms 'Q group' or 'Q people' will be employed very broadly to refer to the intended audience of Q, pending a closer determination of the kind of group that audience might represent."

geographical setting of Q, neither nced Q's situational knowledge indicate Q's *direct* participation in the situations present in the text. For example, the mention of householders and slaves does not *necessarily* indicate that the Q group were engaged with those figures in any significant capacity, although it is unlikely they could escape contact with either slaves or householders in the Graeco-Roman world. More importantly, though, Q's references show that it considers urban topics and situations to be suitable for thought or to be effective examples for its rhetorical purposes. As such, they are valuable indicators of Q's worldview. It is necessary to be very clear about this analysis' presupposition: Q's text does not always indicate the imminent reality of an "urban" environment, but it without a doubt assumes the *plausibility* of its situations—the real urban world is in view to some extent. It is this kind of presumed background knowledge in which this discussion is interested. Put bluntly, what sort of world does Q know? And, just as important, what sort of world does it *require* its audience to know for the rhetorical effect of its arguments?

Q's Social World

In Q we encounter a colourful social sphere. A survey of the social roles present in Q demonstrates a socially diverse crowd: agricultural workers (Q 3:17; 17:34), Gentiles (Q 6:34; 12:30), blind, lame, and diseased people (Q 6:39; 7:22), disciples and teachers (Q 6:40), a centurion (Q 7:3), masters, slaves (Q 7:8; 12.43; 19:12), poor people (Q 6:20; 7:22), prophets and sages (Q 7:26; 10:21; 11:49), tax collectors (Q 7:29; 7:34), religious authorities (Q 7:30), sinners (Q 7:34), harvest workers (Q 10:2), kings (Q 10:24), Jewish exorcists (Q 11:19), householders (Q 11:21; 12:39), Pharisees (Q 11:39), exegetes of the

Law (Q 11:46b), people in the synagogue[36] (Q 11:43), robbers (Q 12:33; 12:39), those who work and spin (Q 12:27), legal opponents (Q 6:29; 12:58), judges and their assistants (Q 12:58), mill workers (Q 17:35), and moneychangers (Q 19:23: τοῖς τραπεζίταις). This list is lengthy but not exhaustive. Even as it stands, what is noteworthy about the list is its diversity. Social inequality and the division of labour are is conspicuous. For instance, not only does Q discuss those working in the fields, presumably peasants or agricultural labourers, perhaps slaves, but also those who expect to have *others working for them* in the fields (Q 19:21).

Various levels of religious commitment are also in view, such as those figures who are deemed religious leaders or prophets (Q 11:39-44, 11:46b, 52) and those who are part of the "crowds" (Q 3:7). In addition, a number of ailing people colour the background of the text (Q 6:39; 7:3; 11:14). In the case of unhealthy persons, their presence in the texts seems quite frequent. This should heighten our awareness that Q uses many of these figures because of their rhetorical functions, not because Galilee was teeming with sick people. Nevertheless, even if we grant them primarily rhetorical functions, the inclusion of these figures presumes they would have had a successful rhetorical function, so thus we can locate them with some confidence in Q's actual world.

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[36] The term "synagogue," it should be noted, refers "primarily to a gathering and only secondary to a structure in earlier periods in Palestine. (Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 155)" So also, Howard Clark Kee, "Early Christianity in the Galilee: Reassessing the Evidence from the Gospels," in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee I. Levine; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992) 6-10; Burton L. Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q & Christian Origins* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1993) 58. However, Q's usages seem ambiguous. Consider Q 12:11: "When they bring you before synagogues, do not be anxious about how or what you are to say." This use of "synagogue" could either be interpreted as a gathering of people, but Q 11:43 ("Woe to you, Pharisees, for you love the place of honour at banquets and the front seat in the synagogues.") seems to refer to the physical structure (ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς). The lack of archaeological evidence for synagogues in early first-century Galilee indicates they were not widespread; their popularity in the region reached its apex in later centuries (see, for example, Gideon Forester, "The Ancient Synagogues of the Galilee," in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* [ed. Lee I. Levine; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992] 289-319).

As for where Q expects to find all these sorts of people, they are in the fields, in the mill, and in the market places (Q 11:43). Some attend large dinner parties, and dinner guests can be sought "on the roads" (Q 14:23), if need be. The text indicates that it was not uncommon for a landowner to live apart from his or her landholdings, which were presumably located in a less rural area (Q 12:42-46). What emerges from the description of the people that inhabit Q's world is a rather diverse population, neither entirely confined to the peasant villages nor wholly situated in urban locales. There is diversity within the social sphere and fluidity between rural and urban areas.

Q's Economic World

In addition to the social diversity apparent in Q, it also displays a range of plausible economic concerns. Over against those scholars who assume an idealistic understanding of an agrarian society,[37] Q does not appear to evince an isolated, self-sufficient society, uninterested in profit or commercial activities. Most obviously, Q displays a familiarity with the marketplace or the commercial atmosphere.[38] Q 7:31-32, for instance, speaks

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[37] Horsley (*Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 75) sees "little or no evidence of…an appreciable volume of trade" in Galilee. Against this, Douglas Edwards ("The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos of the Lower Galilee in the First Century: Implications for the Nascent Jesus Movement" in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* [ed. Lee I. Levine; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992] 58) maintains that even villages certainly had markets.

[38] Horsley points out that the modern market model is an inappropriate model for first-century Galilee. He is certainly correct in this observation, but he also suggests that commercial trade was almost non-existent and towns/villages would not have had market or stores. He argues that the peasants would have been predominantly self-sufficient, would have produced not only their own food but also other basic necessities, and would not have produced any sort of surplus which could be sold at markets (*Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 72-77). Not only are Horsley's conclusions based on an unrealistic understanding of peasant life (that, for instance, they would never think in terms of advantageous trade or profit), but he also fails to recognize the importance of the deliberate urbanization of Galilee, which actively created surplus. As Marianne Sawicki (*Crossing Galilee: Architectures of Contact in the Occupied Land of Jesus* [Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000] 92) reminds us, "It was not the case that 'before urbanization' there was a 'surplus' of produce and industrial production just lying around in barns and warehouses of Galilee…Surplus had to be created through reorganization of labour."

explicitly of the marketplaces (ταῖς αγοραῖς): "To what am I to compare this generation and what is it like? It is like children seated in the marketplaces, who addressing others, say: We fluted for you, but you would not dance, we wailed, but you would not cry."[39] Not only is the setting of this comparison a marketplace, but also it appears to be a rather vibrant marketplace, complete with music and dancing. It is a commercial and social atmosphere that presumes a certain degree of leisure and entertainment, a place where people might spend time for purposes other than just exchanging goods. Q 12:6, a passing comment on selling sparrows, must be at home in the market as well.[40] Moreover, Q 6:38 ("And with the measure you use to measure out, it will be measured out to you.") employs the motif of the honest measure in order to recommend a mode of exchange similar to the Golden Rule. This comparison would be ineffective on an audience not familiar with market activity; as Reed points out, "Measures were used mainly in a market setting to buy, sell, distribute, or tax seed or grain."[41] Furthermore, markets were public places, and so we might suppose Q 13:24, which speaks of the householder who taught in "our streets" (ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν), would also be at home in this sort of setting, a communal gathering having primarily economic utility but also serving as a place of leisure and social interaction.[42] Overall,

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[39] On the significance of this parable, see also, Wendy J. Cotter, "The Parable of the Children in the Market-Place, Q (Lk) 7:31-35: An Examination of the Parable's Image and Significance," *Novum Testamentum* 29:4 (Oct., 1987): 289-304.

[40] Although, as Kloppenborg ("Literary Convention, Self-Evidence and the Social History of the Q People," 84) notes, this is among "the lowest forms of market transactions."

[41] Reed, "The Social Map of Q," 25.

[42] Similarly, Edwards, "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos of the Lower Galilee in the First Century," 59: "It is in the marketplace that urban and rural people gathered to carry on economic, social, and religious discourse."

the references to markets in Q indicate *at the very least* that some sort of trade, even if predominantly local, was of considerable interest to the Q group.

The marketplace does not exhaust Q's references to economic activity. The text presupposes economic endeavours that are separate from the cultivation and sale of agricultural products. For instance, one of Q's parables offers an interesting glimpse into alternative economic activity beyond the *agora*.[43] The parable of the entrusted money (Q 19:12-13, 15-24, 26) demonstrates the presumed benefit of investing surplus money. Ten slaves are entrusted with their master's money (ten *minas*), with which they are to "do business" (πραγματεύσασθε). One slave uses the money to "produce" (προσηργάσατο) ten more *minas*; another slave uses to money to "earn" (ἐποίησεν) five more minas. Another slave does not engage in any of these commercial activities and is subsequently scolded by his master for failing to invest (βαλεῖν) with the money-changers (τοῖς τραπεζίταις) in order to earn interest. Two aspects of this parable are particularly important. First, even those primarily engaged agricultural production, both masters and slaves, are presumed to engage in other sorts of business, such as investing. Second, at least in this instance, it is the *slaves* who are actually involved in the transactions,[44] albeit with their master's money, by entering the markets and investing the money for the master.

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[43] The parables should be considered especially valuable information about Q's daily life. The intention of a parable is to tell a self-contained story drawn from everyday life, punctuated with a distinct rhetorical point that challenges the readers' assumptions or otherwise commands their attention. Parables do not waste time with superfluous details—the account must immediately accord with the audience's worldview in order to take effect.

[44] As M. I. Finley (*The Ancient Economy* [London: The Hogarth Press, 1985] 62-94) points out, there was considerable variety in master-slave relationships. Depending on the individual situation, slaves were given varying levels of trust, privilege, and responsibility.

In addition, economic diversity is present in the parable of the invited dinner guests (Q 14:16-21, 23). The guests decline their invitations for various reasons: one because of his farm, and another because of his business. What is interesting here is that Q separates the economic activity connected with the farm from that associated with business, whatever that may be.[45] Farming and business were considered as distinct enterprises. Moreover, Q 10:7, part of the so-called mission charge, refers to the worker who is worthy of reward, presumably someone who has done a discrete task for a one-time payment. This sort of sporadic employment, in Finley's opinion, is appropriate within more urbanized settings, wherein small contract jobs were common.[46] This, again, highlights the diversity of economic options present in Q's world.

In its references to economic and commercial activity, then, Q obviously knows a world that is more diverse than a rural village. It presupposes an environment with substantial economic activity, although there is no need to assume anything as immense as the bustling marketplaces that might have been present in a commercial port city such as Tyre.[47] But at the same time, Q shows little evidence of being in an advantageous position in the commercial arena. Thus we can perhaps surmise that the Q people did not have firsthand knowledge of the benefits of tributary goods funnelled to the elites through these markets.

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[45] Admittedly, this parable is difficult to reconstruct because both Matthew's version and Luke's show redactional changes; see Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q*, 229-300. See also, Robinson, Hoffman, and Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q*, 436-37.

[46] Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 73-75.

[47] Although probably inaccurate in his assumptions about rural villages, Horsley is nevertheless correct that the model of a free market economy would be wholly inappropriate for this setting (*Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 77).

Q's Administrative World

In a more urban setting, one would also expect to find some sort of municipal structure, as well as civic "services" that were not present in the countryside, such as legal or administrative systems. Q provides us evidence of a world in which these "services" are evident; that is to say, some sort of political-legal structure is present.

The aforementioned "money-changers" (Q 19:23) should be considered part of these municipal services. As Safrai explains, these figures were more than vessels for alternative currencies; they were also "banker[s] of sorts who supplied credit and kept watch over the temporary surplus capital of various individuals."[48] If we assume Horsley's view of the isolated peasants mostly uninterested in material gain, it is difficult to see how the money-changers fit into this picture. But if we assume a more sophisticated agrarian population that would have at least engaged with the money-changers to facilitate their tax payments or to receive loans, we can imagine that money-changers played a significant role in the everyday lives of the ordinary people. Contributing to this view is the immediate reality in Q of lending, borrowing, and debt (Q 11:4). All these activities lead one to assume the people in Q's world were *not* self-sufficient, but rather they involved themselves in economic networking as part of their daily lives. The role of the money-changers belongs in this network.

The presence of tax collectors (Q 7:29; 7:34) too indicates the administrative presence. Safrai point out the difficulty in accurately assessing the tax burdens on the people or determining how they were collected.[49] As with the money-changers, these urban administrative figures affected the daily lives of the common people more than the

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[48] Ze'ev Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine* (London: Routledge, 1994) 291.

[49] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 349-52.

elites. It might be argued that the "tax-collector" is a stock figure employed for Q's polemical end, but taxation is well-attested in Palestine during this period (see my discussion in Chapter Two, especially evidence from Josephus). Moreover, the highly critical usage of "tax-collectors" (Q 7:34) suggests that they were well-known figures and that taxes were a realistic burden on the world presupposed by Q.

Finally, Q's references to the legal structure betray an uncomfortable familiarity with the activities of the judicial system. Q 6:29b ("To the person wanting to take you to court and get your shirt, turn over to him the coat as well.") suggests a setting in which someone wronged seeks restitution in court. Q 12:58 recommends that the audience avoid the courts: "While you go along with your opponent on the way, make an effort to get loose from him, lest the opponent hand you over to the judge, and the judge to the assistant, and the assistant throw you in prison." Resorting to legal arbitration appears to be the last resort for Q, displaying a suspicion of the legal system that may reflect common experience. The modern reader should bear in mind that legal action was not necessarily considered the impartial system we assume it is today; people had to be *taught* to seek restitution in court. We might surmise, then, that the Q people and its projected audience had little success within the legal system, that is to say, they were not in powerful social positions. Not only does Q demonstrate familiarity with the legal system in its text, but also in some cases we see in its literary form a familiarity with legal documents. Arnal has pointed out that Q's "gendered couplets," far from representing the female-inclusive language that the modern reader would prefer, actually conform to legal codes of the day.[50] This point contributes to the argument that the Q

[50] William E. Arnal, "Gendered Couplets in Q and Legal Formulations: From Rhetoric to Social History," *JBL* 116 (1991): 75-94.

people were familiar with a complex legal system that presupposes an urban bureaucratic structure.

The presence of urban features such as markets and courts must be observed cautiously. Horsley, as noted, does not even think Sepphoris and Tiberias would have been major market cities, whereas Safrai maintains that even the smaller villages certainly would have had local markets, even if they were set up only temporarily.[51] Horsley's view, however, represents a questionable conception of Galileans as simple peasants uninterested in trade on even the local level.[52]

In sum, an examination of Q's textual clues about its world reveals its familiarity with the urban sphere—the plausible economic and social situations indicate a setting that is not confined to the rural sphere but familiar with the urban one as well. At the same time, Q's familiarity with aspects of the urban setting is not uniform. The Q people have more experience with the legal system (Q 12:58) than with the lavish banquets (Q 11:43; 14:16) of which it speaks. In this way, we can surmise Q's knowledge of the urban sphere is limited in many respects. Since the urban is usually paired with its opposite, the rural, it is worth briefly looking at Q's familiarity with the rural environment, especially because many scholars have seen fit to view Q's setting predominantly through its agricultural references.

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[51] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee,* 72-77; Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine,* 231.

[52] Jonathan Reed ("Population Numbers, Urbanization, and Economics: Galilean Archaeology and the Historical Jesus," in *Society of Biblical Literature: 1994 Seminar Papers* [ed. Eugene H. Lovering, Jr.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994]) argues for the urban character of Galilee as well but cautions that "much of the scholarly discussion on the urban character of Galilee is overblown." Likewise, I am cautious that Galilee's urban nature not be overstated.

Rural Knowledge

An analysis of Q's urban knowledge should not ignore its use of agricultural metaphors and rural settings. The apparent pastoral background to many of the sayings has led some scholars to propose that Q is best located in the countryside. The document's rhetoric employs the imagery of cultivating (Q 13:19), harvesting (Q 10:2), gathering wheat (Q 3:7), and collecting fruit (Q 6:44). But as for *intimate knowledge* of any of these activities, Q seems to be lacking.

Reed astutely shows that Q frequently uses the impersonal passive when referring to agricultural work, as opposed to the second person agent in other cases. For instance, Q 14:34-35 speaks of insipid salt: "Salt is good; but if salt becomes insipid, with what will it be seasoned? Neither for the earth nor for the dunghill is it fit—*it gets thrown out* (emphasis added)."[53] Or again: "*Are figs picked* from thorns, or grapes from thistles? (Q 6:44b, emphasis added)"[54] Moreover, the references to harvest activities (Q 3:17; 10:2) are stock motifs very common to apocalyptic literature, and appeals to nature (for example, the discourse on worldly anxieties in Q 12:22b-31) are similarly common in sapiental discourse.[55] Therefore, we do not need necessarily to assume an overtly rural background for the Q people in order to explain their usage of rural imagery. Douglas Edwards smartly comments on rural imagery's lack of utility in reconstructing Q's

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[53] Reed's translation ("The Social Map of Q," 26) is "They throw it out" instead of "It gets thrown out," the IQP's translation. Both are acceptable translations of the Greek verse.

[54] In this case, Reed's translation ("The Social Map of Q," 26) accords with that of the IQP: "Do they pick figs from thorns, or grapes from thistles?"

[55] Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q*, 193, 239.

setting: "As an agrarian economy dominated Roman society, agricultural images neither prove nor disprove a rural audience."[56]

If we couple Reed's and Edwards' points with the facts that the Q people were reasonably educated and had enough leisure time to reflect on their circumstances over a sustained period of time, this analysis' initial assumption that the Q people were not peasants or agricultural labourers is confirmed. The text assumes, furthermore, that the Q people will visit towns as part of their routine, implying some degree of mobility:

> Into whatever house you enter, first say: Peace to this house! And if a son of peace be there, let your peace come upon him; but if not, let your peace return upon you. And at that house, remain eating and drinking whatever they provide, for the worker is worthy of one's reward. Do not move around from house to house. And *whatever town you enter* and they take you in, eat what is set before you. And cure the sick there and say to them: The kingdom of God has reached unto you. (Q 10:5-9, emphasis added)

According to Arnal, the nature of this movement was not itinerant wandering or homelessness, but rather "short trips to adjacent towns in some kind of official or quasi-official capacity."[57] With all the aforementioned evidence, we can hardly label the Q people as peasants or agricultural labourers.

With Reed then, I suggest that the authors of Q were familiar with both the rural and urban sphere but show no evidence of being part of the Galilean peasant sector. I

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[56] Edwards, "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos of the Lower Galilee in the First Century," 72.

[57] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 181. For a more detailed discussion of the problems with the itinerancy model, see further Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 67-95.

have shown that the authors do not seem to have any first-hand experience with agricultural production, but yet, even though they evince a strong familiarity with urban activity, they are not entirely at home there either. One suspects that if the Q people had been drawn from the elite sector of a city, their familiarity with the urban sphere would have been more intimate and more appreciative; they would not be worried about honest measures in the marketplace, nor would they have anxiety over food and clothing (Q 12:22b-31). Yet Q witnesses to people who *are* ostensibly concerned about these things. Thus we have educated, creative authors with considerable fluidity between the urban and rural spheres, yet they seem alienated from both; like the son of humanity (Q 9:58), they have nowhere to lay their heads.

Understanding Q's Setting

We have seen in the first part of this chapter that Q knows more than a rural setting. Q is familiar with many settlements in and around Palestine. The Q people seem best located in Lower Galilee and do not show any evidence of being at home in a larger *polis*, though Capernaum is favoured as a plausible location by many scholars. While Q uses agricultural images frequently, their presence in the text can be explained by common literary motifs and also by the Q people's position as intermediaries between the countryside and the urban centres. The references to agricultural topics do not necessarily require the authors to be situated in rural environment. Moreover, the text does not show any first-hand knowledge of many of the agricultural activities of which it speaks. The text *does*, however, presuppose a vibrant social world, punctuated by

relatively diverse economic activity, varying social statuses, and administrative features. In short, something of a familiarity with an "urban sphere" is in view.

Defining Urban

It has become increasingly common to speak of some early Christian groups as "urban."[58] At least in the case of Pauline communities, "urban" becomes equated with the distinctive setting in major cities in the eastern Mediterranean. This is clearly not the case for Q. Thus, the issue of terminology presents us with a problem. Is Q the product of an "urban" context or a "rural" one, and how might those categories be described? Certainly Arnal is correct when he writes "even by the standards of the day, everyone in Galilee, including the residents of Sepphoris and Tiberias, lived in a rural environment."[59] Yet we are compelled to qualify such a sweeping statement in order to account for Q's distinct perspective. Q is simultaneously "urban" and "rural."

These categories are conceptually problematic, for the author and the reader bring their own preconceptions to their understanding of them. In this way, their definitions have often been taken as self-evident. Many scholars have rightly questioned the appropriateness of using especially the former term in the context of first-century Galilee. The urban-rural dichotomy, at least with the modern definitions attached to those terms, seems inadequate to describe Q's setting, especially when we concede that what was most notable about Galilee during this time period was a dramatic economic *change* (see

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[58] For example, Wayne Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

[59] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 163. Similarly, Freyne, "Urban-Rural Relations in First-Century Galilee," 56.

Chapter Two).[60] Furthermore, to use the term "urban" is usually to make a quantitative demographic statement. Urban centres typically have both larger populations and higher population densities than the surrounding regions. But on the other hand, a region does not necessarily become urban simply by having a large population.

Similarly, to speak of any discrete population pattern (for example, a city, town, or village) as the proper locale of Q is difficult as well and ultimately unhelpful. A lack of scholarly consensus on these terms, for one, exacerbates the situation. Safrai maintains that Sepphoris and Tiberias, tentatively proposed by some as the locale of the Q people[61], were *poleis* "in every sense."[62] Yet with Sepphoris' population estimated to be anywhere from 8,000 to 15,000 inhabitants and that of Tiberias' to be 6,000-12,000[63], should we describe these cities with the same settlement pattern as, say, Rome, with its population of perhaps 1,000,000 inhabitants?[64] Reed points out also that at neither

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[60] In attempting to circumvent issues of definition, Freyne ("Urban-Rural Relations in First-Century Galilee," 47) uses the model of the "heterogenetic city" to understand the cultural role of the city and how it affects urbanization in the region. This model views Galilee's major cities as those dominated by businessmen, administrative officials, tax collectors, and other figures who show a marked cultural similarity. The rural sphere's relation to the urban sphere is characterized by tension and suspicion, arising from forcible economic exploitation. The city and the countryside, while ostensibly engaged in the same economic activity, constitute notably differing ways of life. This model is helpful, but nevertheless, again we are confronted with the terms "rural" and "urban," which are taken to be self-evident.

[61] Kloppenborg, "Literary Convention, Self-Evidence and the Social History of the Q People," 86. Kloppenborg tentatively suggests these two cities might have had an administrative presence with which the Q people were familiar.

[62] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 61.

[63] On Sepphoris' population, see Reed, *Archaeology and ... Galilean Jesus*, 80; Milton C. Moreland, "Archaeology in New Testament Courses," in *Between Text and Artifact: Integrating Archaeology in Biblical Studies Teaching* (ed. Milton C. Moreland; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003) 139. On Tiberias' population, see Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 82. Speaking of both cities together, Horsley maintains that the *combined* population of both would be around 15,000 (*Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 45).

[64] Keith Hopkins, "Economic Growth and Towns in Classical Antiquity," in *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology* (eds. Philip Abrams and E. A. Wrigley; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 37-38.

Sepphoris nor Tiberias have excavators found a gymnasium, an Odeon, a nymphaeum, or a hippodrome[65], the architectural elements which were typical of the *polis*.[66] Finley furthermore notes the inconsistency in the literary sources in labelling their own settlements.[67] In many cases, then, the empirical data needed to properly label these cities and villages is lacking. This has not stopped scholars from employing these terms, even disparately within their own work.[68] Nevertheless, it seems rash to discard all these labels entirely, despite problems with their applications and their definitions.

Far more economic opportunities exist in urban centres: commercial enterprise, business investments, and the like.[69] More urban locales also provide services that might not be found in the smaller villages, for example, a structured or systematized *agora*.[70] These distinctive urban elements, in turn, contribute to a different way of life. Thus, what the text of Q really evinces is not any specific sort of settlement pattern that may be designated with a particular label, but rather familiarity with an urbanized *way of life*. This is the defining characteristic of an urban space that renders it as markedly different from the rural sphere. An urban way of life arises from many features specific to the urban environment: high population density, urban architecture, civic services, and

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[65] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 54.

[66] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 64. It should be noted that Reed, in his analysis of Q's urban features, includes the reference to "gates (Q 13:24: πύλης)," which presumably were around larger settlements. That reference has not been included here because of the difficulty in determining the original wording of Q. The IQP's reconstruction opts for the words narrow "door" (Luke's version) instead of "gate" (Matthew's version).

[67] Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 124-25.

[68] For instance, Reed calls Bethsaida both a "small city" and a "village" in the same paragraph ("The Social Map of Q," 21-22).

[69] We might even consider the socio-economic status "urban poor" to be an economic "opportunity" of sorts (or at least an economic alternative) that is distinct to an urban setting.

[70] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 64.

increased and concentrated market activity. This understanding allows Q's location to have *some* urban characteristics without necessarily equating that location with Galilee's only real urban centres, Sepphoris and Tiberias. Thus Q's location is not bound to an urban centre *designated as such*, but whatever its location, it perceived the influence of encroaching Roman urbanization even in the smaller villages.

In sum, the evidence does not warrant assigning Q's provenance to any major urban centre, but to say that Q has urban knowledge is an acceptable position. In many cases, it cannot be doubted that the text presupposes an urban background. However, the Q people do not seem to hold any position of authority in either sphere; the critical invective in Q^1 and Q^2 indicates the Q people's relatively powerless position (i.e., their message was rejected or ignored) and the attitude that developed in response to that situation. The ultimate point is that Q has urban knowledge *not* because it was the product of a large urban centre, but because those urban centres, under Antipas' deliberate economic development, were increasingly encroaching upon more rural areas in ways that the Q people see as calamitous. Indeed, Q's knowledge of the urban environment accords well with current reconstructions of the socio-economic changes brought about by the phenomenon of urbanization in first-century Galilee. This is the topic to which the next chapter turns.

CHAPTER 2

Q IN CONTEXT: THE AUTHORS' LOCATION, HISTORICAL SETTING, AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS URBAN LIFE

The previous chapter analyzed Q's internal evidence with a view towards uncovering the setting presupposed by the text. This chapter uses evidence outside of Q to reconstruct the historical background behind the document. It then seeks to understand the interaction between urban and rural in this setting and describes the Q people's attitudes toward the urban. It will be shown that the attitudes expressed in Q's rhetoric accord well with the reconstruction of first-century Galilee, especially in view of the rapidly developing socio-economic structure.

Geographical and Social Location of the Q People

The last chapter's discussion of the setting taken for granted by the authors concluded that the Q people were familiar with features of the urban landscape and fluent with common literary genres of their time. Here those conclusions are shown to be supported by the most current scholarly consensus on the Q people's geographical and social location.

The most convincing argument for Q's geographical location is Jonathan L. Reed's discussion of Q's "social map." The previous chapter delineated his argument in great detail, but to recapitulate, the symbolic value of Q's geographical and spatial references points to the authors' location in Galilee. The merits of his theory are his use of internal textual evidence, his sensitivity to Q's rhetorical efforts, and his awareness of Galilean spatial orientation. In addition to Reed's argument, we might also note that Q

shares some relationship with Matthew and the *Gospel of Thomas*, both thought to have originated in the same general area as Q.[71] Moreover, the obscurity of towns such as Chorazin indicate the Q people likely had local knowledge of Galilee.[72] However, the latter points are tenuous arguments. Based on textual evidence alone, then, Reed has most persuasively and creatively demonstrated the Galilean provenance of Q.[73]

Recently, scholars have argued that the Q people are best understood as a group either presently or formerly drawn from the scribal sector.[74] The reasons to hypothesize scribal figures are multi-fold. First, the observation that Q was a written document,[75] and

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[71] Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 172.

[72] David Havener, *Q: The Sayings of Jesus* (Good News Studies 19; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987) 43.

[73] Reed's conclusion is not accepted by all scholars. In a passing comment in his monograph on Graeco-Roman culture in Galilee, Mark Chancey describes efforts to locate Q as "largely speculative" (Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*, 123). Moreover, those scholars sceptical of the existence of Q would not necessarily see this material as a product of Galilee either. In Chancey's case, his dismissal of this current research on Q might be related to his particular perspective on Galilee. He maintains that Greek was not a common language in Galilee during this period, and so he must marginalize Q as a representative document of the region.

[74] This theory was first proposed by Kloppenborg in his 1995 essay "Literary Convention, Self-Evidence and the Social History of the Q People." Arnal expanded upon the hypothesis in much more detail in *Jesus and the Village Scribes*. The "village scribe" model also seems to have merit in understanding the travelling activity of the Q people (*Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 180-83). However, we must be careful in employing the theory too deterministically. It is unknown whether the authors were actively or only formerly scribes. Ronald Piper, for instance, holds the latter opinion ("The Language of Violence and the Aphoristic Sayings in Q: A Study of Q 6:27-36," in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical, and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* [ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995] 65-66). There is also the possibility that they were never scribal figures and that this theory is only helpful by analogy, but I think this latter possibility is unlikely, given all the evidence.

[75] Some still emphasize its oral character, such as Richard A. Horsley and Jonathan A. Draper (*Whoever Hears You Hears Me: Prophets, Performance, and Tradition in Q* [Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999]). However, Kloppenborg (*The Formation of Q*, 42-51) has convincingly noted several keys features that would require one to posit a written document: almost verbatim agreement between Matthew and Luke's Greek (very rare in such a highly inflected language), peculiar wording in Matthew and Luke that does not employ standard, or even common, phrasing, and various Greek particles and syntactical features which are distinctive of written texts. These features are very unlikely without a written source.

a rather sophisticated creation when placed in its proper literary genre,[76] supports the fact that its authors were relatively well-educated.[77] Second and related, the document's literary form shows knowledge of many common learned motifs contemporary with the Q people, indicating not only literacy but also a specific sort of erudition common in scribal circles. Third, the content of much of the text is concerned with academic and judicial topics; these appear to reflect scribal interests, including "a celebration of human learning, the positive valuation of the process of tradition (usually, though not exclusively, represented as instruction *in loco parentis*) and concern for both the content of wisdom—however its criteria of adequacy might be framed—and the origin, nature and means by which wisdom is acquired."[78] Fourth, the document, with its contemplative character and multiple revisions, must be the result of authors with significant leisure time to reflect on their circumstances. Fifth, Q shows knowledge of administrative and legal language. This latter point is summed up well by Arnal: "This apparent familiarity with the administration of justice and apparent comfort in appropriating its language, style, and imagery support the characterization of the Q tradents as village scribes."[79] All this is not to say that the Q people *could not* have been peasants or agricultural labourers, but it is highly unlikely given the evidence.

That the Q people were either actively or formerly of the scribal sector of the population helps explain their engagement and familiarity with, but also their perceived

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[76] Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q*, 263-316.

[77] According to Arnal (*Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 170), Q's authors were "persons who are educated and who think of themselves as—and are—learned beyond the ancient norm, but who, at the same time, do not occupy the pinnacle of learned antiquity had to offer."

[78] Kloppenborg, "Literary Convention, Self-Evidence and the Social History of the Q People," 82.

[79] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 171.

isolation from, both the urban and rural spheres. Scribes acted as administrative, intermediary figures, serving the literary needs (marriage contracts, financial agreements, and the like[80]) of the illiterate population. But they were frequently in the service of the urban elite and so participated in maintaining the hegemonic state. Piper explains, "Indeed this sector stands at the interface between local, village social concerns about indebtedness and the administrative structures for dealing judicially with such business and social relations, which inevitably would refer back to the cities."[81] Accordingly, these low-level scribes probably experienced resentment from the majority of the population but were neither fully accepted into the elite circles; rather they occupied a "middling"[82] social stratum, "with one foot in each camp."[83]

The hypothesis of a "middling" scribal sector makes especially good sense in first-century Galilee. Many factors indicate there might have been an increased scribal presence in the region. Christine Schams suggests factors leading to this increase. During the Ptolemaic period, administrative and bureaucratic presence in Galilee increased, thus increasing the need for scribes.[84] Moreover, by the time of the Roman period, the administrative system and the economy had become so complex that increasingly more scribes were needed to facilitate day-to-day transactions. Consequently, Schams reasons

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[80] Neville Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity* (Key Themes in Ancient History; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 77.

[81] Piper, "The Language of Violence and the Aphoristic Sayings in Q," 63.

[82] The use of "middling" is intentional. The middle class that exists in the contemporary world was not to be found in ancient societies. See, for example, John Dominic Crossan's helpful discussion of social class in antiquity: John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992), 43-46.

[83] Piper, "The Language of Violence and the Aphoristic Sayings in Q," 66.

[84] Christine Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second Temple Period* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 291; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 295.

that scribes may have been recruited from the local population in order to meet the demand for scribal functions.[85] What resulted in Galilee was a growing low-level scribal class. These seemingly average administrative figures were suddenly given a position of power and relative autonomy in the villages. This sort of oversupply of scribal figures would have been particularly susceptible to economic hardship if a foreign administration arrived to usurp their duties.[86]

The hypothesis of the scribal provenance of the Q people is becoming more popular among scholars of Christian origins, because it can help explain so much of the form and content of the Q document. What occasioned the *specific* composition of Q, however, requires further elaboration.

Socio-Economic Description

The nature and extent of the Galilean economy in the first century is particularly important for understanding Q's outlook. The reason for this is that the authors seem to react to a situation of real or perceived inequality in their lives. Rather than focusing on the ideas in Q alone, it is preferable to examine these ideas for what they might mean in the real world of the Q people. Scholars of Christian origins have the tendency to posit several general crises, such as the destruction of the Temple or the cultural displacement of Hellenism, to explain the intellectual responses seen in many early Christian writings.

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[85] Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second Temple Period*, 296.

[86] Based on Josephus' account of various sorts of economic hardship in Palestine, especially famine and poor harvests, Kloppenborg ("Literary Convention, Self-Evidence and the Social History of the Q People," 87) contends, "There is ample reason to suppose that the lower administrative and scribal sectors suffered economic and social hardship along with the peasants."

But without *specific* circumstances, these positions lack explanatory power.[87] In first-century Galilee, however, a specific economic situation, that of encroaching Roman urbanization, seems to provide a persuasive occasion for Q's message. Not every facet of the socio-economic structure can be covered in this section; however this discussion presents the most significant aspects of the overall structure as well as some specific manifestations of that structure which the Q people likely encountered in their daily lives.

The sources, unfortunately, limit the extent and the accuracy of the reconstruction, perhaps contributing to the range of depictions of Galilee in modern scholarship (see my discussion in Chapter Three).[88] The present analysis is forced to rely on fragmentary or skewed literary evidence and incomplete archaeological data. Josephus' works, for instance, contain inconsistencies, hyperbole, and misinformation. Moreover, modern reconstructions often either intentionally or unintentionally conflate Judean and Galilean evidence.[89] In addition, many of the most modern studies on Galilee rely on rabbinic writings, especially from the second and third centuries for their reconstructions.[90] The scholar must be exceptionally cautious not to assume anachronistically that rabbinic evidence represents Galilee in the first century. Furthermore, rabbinic writings, even

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[87] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 100.

[88] On sources, cf. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 215.

[89] For instance, Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*. This is not meant to be a criticism of this work, especially since their work is intentionally aimed at reconstruction of Palestine as a whole. The conflation is sometimes inescapable because the evidence is limited; however, regional differences between Galilee and Judea are being increasingly emphasized in modern scholarship.

[90] For example, Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*; Martin Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee: A.D. 132-212* (2nd ed.; London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2000). Again, this is sometimes intentional and not necessarily a criticism.

when applicable, often reflect *ideal* states of affairs, not necessarily reality.[91] However, there is reason to think that some of the situations addressed in rabbinic writings are continuous from the former period; it is absurd to think that the Galilean society and economy in the period of the rabbis would have *nothing* in common with that of the first century. These problems, then, should not preclude attempts at reconstructing Galilee; at the very least, sociological and anthropological studies from analogous regions may supplement the fragmentary data from Galilee.

Economic Orientation: Open or Closed

The question of an open or closed economy in Galilee is paramount, for it determines the tendencies of the economic activity within the region. The presence of some foreign currency throughout Galilee and references in Josephus' writing to oil trade between upper Galilee and the coastal area[92] indicate to some scholars that Galileans were actively or intentionally engaged in foreign trade. Moreover, the fertile land of Galilee may have contributed to external trade of agricultural products. And with major trade routes bordering nearly every side of its territory, it seems that Galilee was in a prime location to engage in foreign trade.

However, a closer look at this evidence suggests that external trade did not occur frequently. The preponderance in foreign coinage does not *necessarily* indicate direct trade; Tyrian coins, for instance, were widespread, and their presence in Galilee could be

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[91] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 11-13. Despite the caution that rabbinic writings reflect the ideal, Safrai maintains that internal evidence suggests "general reliability" about the accuracy of the rabbinic writings' reflection of reality.

[92] Josephus, *War*, 2.592.

due to a number of non-trade related reasons.[93] Trade between Upper Galilee and coastal regions should not be entirely discounted, but there is no reason to think trading activity was consistent or even beneficial to Galileans.[94] The land, furthermore, was certainly ideal for agricultural production,[95] but given the technological limitations and cost of transporting bulky products,[96] the average person would see little financial gain in exporting any goods. Moreover, the region tended to be self-sufficient in the main foods required for the diet, grain and olive oil; imports were not consistently necessary.[97] Proximity to trade routes is not necessarily indicative of foreign trade either. The busy trade routes along Galilee's borders likely brought cultural contact,[98] but desert and coastal tradespeople mainly controlled those routes, likely precluding Galileans any economic benefit.[99]

In view of these considerations, there is little firm evidence that Galilee was engaged in active external trade. In lieu of significant importing or exporting, then, the economic activity that *did* occur within Galilee tended to flourish among the densely

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[93] For instance, Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 67-70. Tyrian coinage appears to have been standard currency in the region and was also required to pay the Temple tax (Jonathan L. Reed, *The Harper Collins Visual Guide to the New Testament: What Archaeology Reveals about the First Christians* [New York: HarperOne, 2007] 85). Similarly, Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 131.

[94] For example, Josephus' *War* 3.35-40 suggests that Upper Galilee and Tyre disputed over land, among other things. It is plausible that conflicts led to outright seizure of resources instead of trade.

[95] Josephus writes of Galilee, "…their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of plantations of trees of all sorts…it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. (*War*, 3.42-43)"

[96] For example, Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 126-27.

[97] Even during the second century, Goodman finds no evidence that the region *needed* to import grain (*State and Society in Roman Galilee*, 22).

[98] Mack (*The Lost Gospel*, 55) writes that the traffic of traders moving through the region would have been "constant," rendering Galilee "fully exposed to the ebb and flow of goods, ideas, and reports of events that generated social and cultural change in the Greco-Roman age."

[99] Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee*, 17-19.

populated villages in a well-developed intra-village trade network. This means that the Galilean economy, prior to the appearance of Sepphoris and Tiberias, was a closed economy:

> Insofar as the two Galilees were a collection of more or less self-governing villages, trade, especially open trade, need not have been a major factor in their economies. Some trade in basic but specialized necessities undoubtedly took place, and surplus product may have been used to acquire the odd luxury or imported good, especially from the Phoenician coast. But the Galilees were marked, in spite of what movements of goods took place, by a closed economy.[100]

This should not be taken to imply that Galilee was somehow socially or economically isolated from the surrounding regions, only that it did not consistently *require* external trade to meet its economic needs at this juncture nor did the inhabitants view it as particularly beneficial under the current order. Faced with a new economic pressure, however, this inward-facing village would be hard-pressed to retain its traditional mode of production and way of life.

Urbanization and Economic Disruption

In his monumental study on ancient Galilee, Freyne emphasized more than once the overall stability in Galilee under Antipas (r. 4 B.C.E-39 C.E.).[101] But since then, most perceptions of stability under Antipas have waned. Horsley, for instance, has emphasized

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[100] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 132.

[101] For instance, Seán Freyne, *Galilee From Alexander the Great to Hadrian: 323 B.C.E. to 135 C.E.: A Study of Second Temple Judaism* (Studies in Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1980) 69. Cf. his recent comments on his original study: Seán Freyne, "Herodian Economics in Galilee: Searching for a Suitable Model," in *Modelling Early Christianity: Social-scientific Studies of the New Testament in its Context* (ed. Philip F. Esler; London: Routledge, 1995) 23.

in many works the numerous popular rebellions, indicative of instability, which plagued Galilee prior to the destruction of the Temple.[102] Most important for our purposes, however, is the recognition of the important economic developments occurring in Galilee at the beginning of the first century.[103]

One of Antipas' first political moves after inheriting Galilee was to rebuild Sepphoris, which the Roman governor Varus had destroyed in 4 B.C.E while putting down a popular rebellion that followed in the wake of Herod the Great's death.[104] The building project itself indicates the beginning of an extractive tributary system in the region;[105] without the income and labourers from the surrounding region, rebuilding would have been impossible.[106] Tiberias was founded two decades later (18 C.E.), possibly on a former Jewish burial ground,[107] and like Sepphoris, its building required substantial resources from the surrounding region. These two cities alternated as the administrative capitals of Galilee.

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[102] For example, Richard A. Horsley and John S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets and Messiahs: Popular Movements at the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985). Similarly, Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 245-55.

[103] As noted by Moreland ("Archaeology in New Testament Courses," 138), it has become common to recognize the influence of Antipas' urbanization and Romanization efforts on the agrarian Galilean economy. An example of this increasingly common recognition comes from Horsley's work: "From a historical perspective, the most distinctive feature of life for the Galilean people during Roman time was the social-economic impact of the founding and development of Tiberias and Sepphoris. (*Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 90)"

[104] Josephus, *Ant.*, 18.27.

[105] A helpful definition of the tributary system is offered by Hanson and Oakman (*Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 185): a system in which "the payment in goods and money [is] paid by subject peoples to a foreign empire."

[106] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 82. The labourers for the city would have to be drawn from the local population since there is no evidence for the Roman military presence in Galilee in this period. See, for example, Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*, 50-51.

[107] Josephus, *Ant.*, 18.38.

> Josephus takes the time to note the uprooted character of Tiberias' population: Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come there out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were persons of condition. He also committed poor people, such as those that were collected from, all parts, to dwell in it.[108]

Thus, the inhabitants included forcibly relocated Galileans. In addition, the "strangers" about whom Josephus writes might have been foreign elites. Marianne Sawicki's description of Tiberias as a "resort city,"[109] though a bit hyperbolic, implies the attractiveness of the city to at least foreign visitors. What all this demonstrates is that the urban inhabitants did not appear *sui generis* nor could they *all* have come from other cities outside Galilee. We can surmise that many of the new urban inhabitants were villagers from the surrounding rural areas. The former village inhabitants probably maintained at least social, if not economic, ties with the villages. This consideration, along with that of the blurred boundary between urban and rural to be argued shortly, renders it "improbable" that Galilean villagers were somehow isolated from urban influences.[110]

The presence of these cities marks the beginning of Roman urbanization in the region, wherein urban inhabitants made significant, sometimes exploitive demands on the

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[108] Josephus, *Ant.*, 18.37.

[109] Sawicki, *Crossing Galilee*, 30. She also argues, "In effect, when Antipas built Tiberias as a port of welcome to the land of Israel, he 'italianized' the Lake and the lower Jordan. The need to transport elite international travelers over the Kinneret, and to entertain them while they rested at Tiberias, invited the establishment of a new kind of industry: imperial tourism."

[110] Shirley Jackson Case, "Jesus and Sepphoris," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 45:1/2 (1926): 15.

rural population. The consequences of urbanization were apparent immediately. The two cities were important administrative centres, aiding the immediate and direct rule of Antipas, something from which the Galileans formerly had been immune.[111] The initial building of these cities required labourers and other resources that would have to be drawn from the surrounding villages.[112] This demand was placed on a peasant population with few resources to spare. As Arnal argues, the taxation burden on Galilee probably did not increase much in this period, but the effectiveness of its extraction was greatly enhanced by the new administrative cities.[113] Thus, Horsley accurately assesses the consequences for Galilee: "The impact on traditional life in Galilee would likely have been sudden and dramatic, cultural as well as economic. The 'royal' cities … provided the Romans with a basis for the 'urbanization' of all of Lower Galilee, placing all the villages of the area under the administration of one or another of these cities."[114]

The urban inhabitants were comprised in part by wealthy citizens, perhaps the "strangers" in Tiberias of whom Josephus writes, who were in a position to purchase and to consolidate Galilean land. Thus, a notable change in land ownership accompanied urbanization as well.[115] Moreover, not only did the owners of the land change, but the patterns of the land use also changed. Prior to urbanization much of the agricultural land could lie fallow in between crop cycles, thus protecting the fertility and subsequent yield.

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[111] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 12.

[112] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 34.

[113] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 143. Cf. Reed's point that after the establishment of these two minor urban centres, no settlement lay more than 25 kilometres from their reach (Reed, "Population Numbers, Urbanization, and Economics," 218).

[114] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 11. It should be noted that Horsley does not think the most acute pressure from urbanization were felt until about a century later.

[115] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 84.

But Reed estimates that the populations of Sepphoris and Tiberias required intensive farming of up to 97% of all cultivated arable land in order to meet the urban demands for resources.[116]

Contemporary with these circumstances was the rise of monetization in Galilee, increasing from the time of Antipas. Monetization more effectively allowed goods and their values to be removed from the region, hence bringing Galilee into "the economic orbit of the empire," from which its previous relative autonomy had protected it.[117] Monetization also facilitated concentration of land by the elites, who were able to demand more tribute from the peasants, thus increasing their debt and poverty. While taxation and cycles of debt were not new to the region, monetization allowed taxes to be collected more effectively than before.[118] The need for coin currency to pay various taxes and tributes, too, necessitated monocropping,[119] which concentrated the agricultural risk for farmers and labourers. Subsequently, villagers who had formerly engaged in only casual trade now faced the pressure to produce surplus in order to sell it for coin currency.

Many of these economic changes implemented by Antipas were no doubt intentional.[120] Sepphoris had been a successful military and administrative city prior to Antipas' rule and his decision to rebuild the city was likely in part to capitalize on its strategic position. Moreover, the deliberate movement of people to inhabit Tiberias

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[116] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 85-88.

[117] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 138.

[118] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 144-46

[119] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 87.

[120] So also, Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 147.

demonstrates the calculated effort to create urban centres. Even if Sawicki has overstated Antipas' desire to make Tiberias a "tourist gateway,"[121] the location of that city demonstrates that Antipas "was interested in developing and controlling the lake region to a greater extent than his predecessors."[122]

Thus, the formerly closed economy faced the economic pressures resulting from the new presence of Sepphoris and Tiberias. These cities made economic demands on the countryside and provided new administrative bases from which to control the region. The social inequality from the increased economic pressure on the majority of the population would have been evident. However, the consequences need not have been entirely negative. The economic changes were also stimulatory in some cases. For instance, the employment opportunities available to both rural and urban inhabitants increased. Horsley suggests at least some inhabitants of Sepphoris and Tiberias may have worked as agricultural labourers in fields near the cities.[123] Probably some peasants migrated to the new cities, but "one should not envision the depopulation of rural sites to populate the urban centers."[124] Similarly, Sawicki has proposed that elite households may have employed people from the local population.[125] In short, Sepphoris and Tiberias were not entirely parasitical entities.

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[121] Sawicki, *Crossing Galilee*, 93.

[122] Moreland, "Archaeology in New Testament Courses," 140.

[123] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 84. In agreement, Reed notes typical labour flow was from cities to rural sector; thus in general, rural people probably did not work in the city (*Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 132).

[124] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 84.

[125] Sawicki, *Crossing Galilee*, 22.

If we consider for a moment, the impact of urbanization in terms of population, the extent of this economic shift becomes much more vivid. Population estimates for the cities vary among scholars. The most accurate population estimates come from Reed for the following reasons. First, he is cognizant of the exaggerated population data offered by Josephus.[126] Second, he estimates Sepphoris' and Tiberias' populations based on the population densities of sociologically and structurally analogous cities in the Roman Empire for which there are quite accurate population data. And third, he accounts for the maximum population that could be supported by the surrounding arable land.[127] In view of all this, Sepphoris' population was about 8,000-12,000[128] and Tiberias' was 6,000-12,000.[129] Others have estimates slightly higher or lower estimates.[130] However, Reed's numbers appear to be the most sensitive to archaeological evidence and social modeling. In sum, both were significant towns, especially when viewed aside Nazareth or Capernaum,[131] but they were nothing like the larger *poleis* of Scythopolis or Caesarea.[132]

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[126] For instance, Josephus writes that within Galilee no settlement had less than 15,000 inhabitants (*War*, 3.43). Coupled with his statement in another work that Galilee had 240 cities and villages (*Life*, 235), this yields a population of 3,600,000 inhabitants, a very high estimate for such a small region in this time period.

[127] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 88-89. Arable land around Tiberias would support 16,000 people per year, and that around Sepphoris would provide enough grain for 18,000 people per year.

[128] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 80.

[129] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 82.

[130] Moreland generously suggests 10,000-15,000 inhabitants for Sepphoris ("Archaeology in New Testament Courses," 139); Horsley, on the other hand, is critical of many modern estimates; he suggests a *combined* population of both Sepphoris and Tiberias to be roughly 15,000 (*Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 45).

[131] Nazareth's population was probably under 500 (Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 109; Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 109, 152), while Capernaum's was slightly larger, perhaps 1,000-1,500 (Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 114; Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 152).

Even if we grant Sepphoris and Tiberias a modest population of 10,000 inhabitants each, we are faced with cities that were likely not self-sufficient and relied on the surrounding region for economic support. And if Horsley's estimation of Galilee's entire population being less than 150,000 inhabitants[133] is close to accurate, then the movement of 20,000 people or more into either Sepphoris or Tiberias within a period of about twenty years is a significant realignment of the population.[134]

The emphasis that I and others have placed on these two cities leads to the question of whether we can suppose the Q people were affected by their presence. It seems clear that they could not escape their socio-economic influence, and possibly had an intimate knowledge of the urban activity in one or both cities.[135] Why neither is mentioned in Q is interesting, but probably unanswerable.[136]

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[132] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 59: "The limited degree of Romanized urbanization and cosmopolitan culture in first-century Sepphoris and Tiberias can be placed in perspective by comparisons with Scythopolis, the largest city in Palestine, and Caesarea, Herod's creation on the Mediterranean coast only decades prior to Antipas's founding of Tiberias."

[133] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 45.

[134] This ratio of urban dweller to the total population (1:7.5) is not unlike the ratio in the rest of the Empire. Based on Neville Morley's population estimates for the Roman world (*Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 50), a similar ratio of urban to rural (about 1 in 6) was present in the rest of the empire. He estimates 8-9 million urban inhabitants of the total 50-60 million population. Statistically speaking, then, Galilee was as urban as the rest of the empire. This is obviously is a tenuous line of reasoning that ignores many variables, but it is worth indicating as a point of comparison.

[135] So also, Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 132, 178.

[136] Of Sepphoris, Chancey writes: "Despite Nazareth's proximity to the city, none of the gospels ever mentions it. Perhaps Jesus avoided it because he feared Antipas, particularly after the death of John the Baptist. Perhaps he was suspicious of Antipas's embrace of Roman culture, relatively limited though it was. Perhaps the city has poor relations with neighboring villages. Or, perhaps Jesus visited there regularly and we simply have no record of it. Whatever the case, it leaves us in the curious position of not knowing Jesus' stance towards the emergence of the first Greco-Roman city in Galilee. (*Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*, 86)" There is also the supposition that the Q people were located in one of these larger cities, and were wary of speaking against them from within. Again, we are on uncertain ground. There is no good reason for thinking Q would avoid speaking of the city in which it was located—after all, it excoriates Capernaum, a town that has been proposed as a very likely location for the Q people.

I turn now from this general outline of the socio-economic character of Galilee to specific manifestations of this overall structure, the kind that are presupposed by Q's text.

Trade and Market Activity

The concept of trade is potentially subject to scholarly manipulation, depending on the economic depiction one wishes to advance. Given also the shifting political and social boundaries in the Graeco-Roman world, it is wise to specify how we may understand the concept of trade in this discussion. Neville Morley suggests:

> It seems preferable to conceive of the ancient world in terms of overlapping spheres of exchange, as the boundaries between different eco-systems came to be overlaid with political boundaries that partially reshaped patterns of distribution, and to see different exchange practices as part of a spectrum in terms of both distance and scale. Trade may be considered in the broadest sense as the movement of goods across different sorts of boundaries: household, tribe, state, status, ecological.[137]

This definition allows for a wide range of activity, from politically coerced trade to local exchange or barter, to be understood as trade. We have seen that the closed nature of the Galilean economy prior to urbanization suggested that the amount of importing and exporting in Galilee was limited.[138] Other factors, such as transport limitations, severely

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[137] Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 11.

[138] So also, Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 103.

inhibited the range of economic activity in Galilee; consequently most trade was local and consisted mainly of subsistence items and not imported luxuries.[139]

Market exchange was one of the most accessible forms of trade for the individual person in the Roman Empire. The extent of trading was both large scale and small scale, sometimes requiring coin currency and sometimes only exchange in kind. Judging from the substantial *agoras* in major cities, this was common and popular economic activity. Galilee, of course, lacked major urban centres comparable to *poleis* like Corinth or Rome, but this fact should not preclude the presence of markets in the region.

Archaeological evidence for market activity is scarce. From Sepphoris and Tiberias, we have only two market weights.[140] But these two cities had significant populations, which produced a constant demand for goods. Year-round permanent markets would likely have existed in both.[141] It must be noted, however, that many important forms of internal trade, which were especially suitable to a local village exchange, simply left no identifiable remains. Periodic markets or temporary markets, for example, were likely. Modern market theory acknowledges that certain types of societies, in particular agrarian peasant societies, tend to have periodic or seasonal

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[139] However, we should also remember that luxuries were sought even by non-elites. Hopkins ("Economic Growth and Towns in Classical Antiquity," 55) points out the problem of differentiating ancient consumers based on a dichotomy between the elite and the masses: "The aggregate demand for a middling stratum must have been quite large: best clothes for brides and grooms, or for rich peasants or prosperous traders to wear at festivals or in street parades, or ordinary clothes for respectable schoolteachers or doctors or for middling landlords; all these added up to a varied, significant and sophisticated market." See also, Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee*, 54.

[140] Isaiah Gafni, "Daily Life in Galilee and Sepphoris," in *Sepphoris in Galilee: Cross Currents of Culture* (ed. Rebecca Martin Nagy, et al; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996) 54.

[141] Archaeological evidence is fragmentary for this. Only parts of Sepphoris have been excavated, and almost none of Tiberias has, as it lies under a modern city.

markets in lieu of permanent ones.[142] The demand for goods in smaller settlements was not constant and so temporary markets met the population's needs. These might only have consisted of goods set out under tents or on blankets, which of course leave no archaeological remains. In addition, the purchasing of smaller items need not have required a venue for exchange. The figure of the traveling salesperson, for instance, circulated in village networks, lessening the need for permanent markets.[143] So also, donkey and camel caravans frequented villages, encouraging inter-village trade.[144] So even though Horsley argues, "virtually nothing indicates that towns and villages had established stores or even small markets,"[145] we can see that many forms of trade leave no archaeological evidence. The complete absence of trade among Galilee's settlements seems, to me, to be too dismissive.

The most convincing evidence for trade in Galilee comes from references to the regulatory system that accompanied substantial economic activity. The references to market overseers and moneychangers especially show that trade was frequent enough to require mediating figures to facilitate exchange. The presence of the market overseers, *agoranomoi*, functioned also for consumer protection.[146] The market weights also indicate a concern for standardized dealing. But perhaps the most obvious figure

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[142] Brian J. L. Berry, et al, *Market Centers and Retail Location: Theory and Application* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988) 119-22.

[143] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 231.

[144] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 234-35.

[145] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 74.

[146] Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 64. *Agoranomoi* might have been a fluid term, however, because we see Josephus describe Agrippa I under the same title (Josephus, *Ant.*, 18.149). It is unknown if Agrippa I actually performed the economic duties associated with this role. Safrai finds evidence that even smaller villages had an *agoranomos* who was in charge of local commerce and market (*The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 231).

indicative of market activity was that of the moneychangers. Q's references to this figure show that he or she was well known in Galilee, albeit perhaps not popular. Moneychangers existed primarily to facilitate exchange, in particularly by providing small coin currency for small-scale exchange.[147] In the larger settlements, this seemed to be a full-time occupation, supported by the interest or fees earned from transactions.[148] Some were itinerant workers, travelling to smaller villages on market days. In smaller villages, however, this might not be the case. Local merchant or shop owners were known to don the title temporarily.[149] Thus, the abundant evidence for an established system to regulate exchange points to widespread trade, even though it was admittedly small-scale and mostly local.

Horsley argues that peasant villagers would have produced not only all their food, but also all their necessary tools, clothing, and other necessities.[150] However, given the limited means and resources of typical peasants, this view does not seem entirely accurate. It is unlikely that all peasants would have had equal access to all the resources and the means to produce the things argued by Horsley. Peasants might have made their own basic necessities (food and clothing),[151] but they still required cookware, farming tools, rudimentary furniture, etc. Morley agrees: "Farmers were never wholly isolated

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[147] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 302.

[148] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 293. Morley roughly estimates approximately 5-6 percent of currency transaction were kept by the moneychanger as a service fee or payment (*Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 62).

[149] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 227.

[150] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 120.

[151] Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 110. Hanson and Oakman also suggest "peasants value self-sufficiency and working for others degrading." (113) However, a people's values do not always reflect reality, and so we should be wary of conflating the two.

from society or wholly divorced from the markets; depending on local recourses, many would have needed to buy goods such as salt, olive oil, shoes, clothing, pottery and tools."[152] The evidence does indicate that the region *as a whole* was relatively self-sufficient, requiring few imports, but that does not necessarily mean the individual was similarly self-sufficient. And at least by the rabbinic period, it is clear that even the village settlements were not self-sufficient.[153]

While self-sufficiency is not, in my opinion, an appropriate understanding of the Galilean economy, neither is a well-developed market economy on the scale of the modern free market, wherein consumer demand determines and regulates pricing.[154] As noted by Hanson and Oakman, the modes of production, the means to distribute products, and the control over the prices, were still ultimately controlled by the elites.[155]

Administrative System:

Douglas Edwards notes the ubiquitous references to the administrative structure in the literary remains:

> "Judicial imagery, financial analogies that envision interest-bearing accounts, and the portrait of an absentee landlord (city-dweller or connected to an urban environment) who figures in the parable as representing God reflect an awareness

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[152] Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 45.

[153] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 232.

[154] For example, Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 132.

[155] Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 112-13.

of the economic and administrative structure that governed rural and urban areas alike."[156]

This system, then, influenced many aspects of Galilean life. Nevertheless, there are some problems with knowing the Galileans' full experience of the administrative structure. First, because political power changed hands so frequently in Galilee, there was likely an overlap between Herodian administration, Roman administration, and a local administrative structure; sometimes they fulfilled the same functions but other times their activities were distinct. Second, it is difficult to know how far administration penetrated into the rural areas. If Arnal is correct that the Q people have "thrown in their lot"[157] with the peasant population marginalized by urbanization, I think it may be concluded that those dwelling even in the most rural areas were affected by the urban influence. In any case, the administrative structure existed to facilitate the spread of urbanization, almost solely to the advantage of the elite.

1. Financing, Loan Activity, and Debt

In the above scenario of urbanization, it was suggested that elites consolidated land ownership. The effect of this was to force peasants and other small holders off the land. In return, they might be allowed to rent the land back or work as labourers on it, but the wealthy landholder would ultimately own the fruits of their labourers. The financial consequences of these arrangements were many. First, in order to pay rent in the first place, peasants would have to borrow money or enter into another sort of binding

[156] Edwards, "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos of the Lower Galilee in the First Century," 72.

[157] Arnal, *Jesus and the Villages Scribes*, 198.

contract (i.e. sharecropping). Second, the need to pay steep rents further stressed a social stratum already burdened by high taxation. The unfortunate consequence, especially in the case of a bad harvest,[158] is that the cycle of increasing indebtedness and resulting poverty was common.[159]

2. Taxation

Taxation was a fact of life throughout Palestine; Roman and Herodian rulers, as well as the Temple in Jerusalem, demanded tribute from the people. Josephus, for instance, notes, albeit with great exaggeration, the heavy taxation in Judea under Herod Archelaus:

> And besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal present to himself, to his servants and friends, and to such of his slaves as were promised the favour of being his tax-collectors, because there was no way of obtaining freedom from unjust violence without giving either gold or silver for it.[160]

In theory, Galilee was subject to the same taxation as Judea. He writes also of the "rulers also and senators [who] divided themselves into the villages, and collected the tributes."[161] In another work, he refer to the priests' servants who arrive at the threshing floor to forcibly "take away those tithes that were due to the priests."[162] It seems, then,

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[158] Douglas E. Oakman (*Jesus and the Economic Questions of his Day* [Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 8; Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1986] 63) points out the yield in antiquity was typically low, even in the absence of a bad harvest. It was usually only 10-15 times the amount of seed sown.

[159] Cf. Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 134-46.

[160] Josephus, *Ant.*, 17.308.

[161] Josephus, *War*, 2.405.

[162] Josephus, *Ant.*, 20.181.

that many forms of taxes and tributes were imposed on the population. Hanson and Oakman helpfully list all the taxes which Galileans would have been required to pay (in theory); these included soil tax, head tax, market tax, transit tolls, port taxes, and taxes for city and state projects.[163] On top of that, the inhabitants were also subject to taxes from the Temple in Jerusalem.[164] Whether or not the exact amount of the taxes can be known with any certainty, the taxation structures were "elaborate, numerous, and often conflicting."[165] As shown above, Arnal persuasively argued that taxation levels during this period were not necessarily higher than in prior times, but urbanization made its collection more efficient and regular.

Josephus' statements show also that mediating figures, such as servants and rulers, ventured from the urban centres into the countryside to collect taxes. This accounts too for the prevalence of tax-collectors in early Christian writings. In short, the taxation demands appear to have been very heavy and required fairly invasive tactics for their collection. With Sepphoris and Tiberias as a centre of operations, this invasion was all the more efficient.

3. Legal Enforcement

The legal system was perhaps the most formal part of the administrative system. This also seemed to work to the advantage of the elite. The most significant role of the court

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[163] Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 114.

[164] Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 114.

[165] Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 114-15.

system in this setting for our purposes was to enforce the payment of taxes and debts.[166] The debtor's prisons, for example, is presumed to lie behind Q 12:57-59. A creditor could seek legal restitution from a debtor through the court system, and the result might be eviction or prison.[167] Q speaks also of the figures of official capacity in the legal system: lawyers, judges, and assistants. These established offices were likely common in larger settlements, but elders or "leading men" might govern smaller village courts.[168]

Despite Q's rhetoric regarding the legal system, the legal system also had some benefits, even for the common person. As Morley notes, it provided the basis for economic regulations which aided business transactions and reduced levels of uncertainty in exchange, thus facilitating trade.[169] Moreover, if Q 6:29 is an accurate reflection of the system, individuals could seek restitution for private disputes through the courts.

4. Scribal Activity

Finally, the far-reaching administrative system required a significant scribal sector. In previous sections I have noted the functions and social location of some of these scribal figures. In addition, Schams has provided likely scenarios for the increasing scribal activity in the region, contributing to the large sector of low-level administrators. Although drawn from the common population, their occupation existed mostly to facilitate elite domination. Many scribes were from elite circles too, however, and are

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[166] Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 152.

[167] Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 152.

[168] Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee*, 119

[169] Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 68.

referred to as "political kin" of the elite priests by Hanson and Oakman.[170] These latter elite scribal figures were of higher social status than the low-level scribes and likely saw immediate advantages from urbanization.

What these aspects of the administrative structure have in common is their mediating role in the processes accompanying urbanization; thus, they ultimately benefited the elite. The predominantly peasant population probably saw few benefits from this structure.

Modelling Urban-rural Interaction in Galilee

Q's urban knowledge, discussed in Chapter One, accords well with the reconstruction just described; the Q people were familiar with many features accompanying urbanization. Here, I briefly discuss an appropriate model to explain the preceding socio-economic description.

The most typical model for understanding rural and urban interaction in the ancient world is Max Weber's "consumer city" model, which maintains that ancient cities existed antithetically over against rural hinterland regions. Inherent in the model is the opinion that the city population and the rural population rarely engaged with one another and also that the city fed predatorily off rural agricultural products. It follows, then, that the rural agrarian inhabitants were naturally suspicious of and hostile towards the urban dwellers. Moses I. Finley confirms Weber's view:

> All residents of a city who are not directly engaged in primary production derive their food and raw materials from the producers in the countryside. All cities are in that sense centers of consumption. The question is whether ancient cities were,

[170] Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 148.

> as Max Weber thought, primarily centers of consumption. …The parasitical city paid merely by returning all or part of the rents and taxes it took from the country in the first place; the fully symbiotic relationship would be represented by equal payment in urban production and services.[171]

This model has been assumed accurate to describe the relationship between most major Graeco-Roman cities and their surrounding countryside, and admittedly, it is frequently a very appropriate model. However, in some cases it has been questioned for its appropriateness and explanatory power, even labelled as an "idealised…potentially misleading contrast."[172] Donald Engels, for instance, has demonstrated that Roman Corinth provided a unique service economy and should not wholly be viewed as parasitical.[173] With this example in mind, we can recapitulate what we have seen in Galilee.

The building of both Sepphoris and Tiberias demanded many resources from the countryside and facilitated their extraction by their close proximity. This put an intense burden on the peasant society. The popular rebellion against Sepphoris, Horsley argues, demonstrates the inherent hostility between the rural peoples and the urban dwellers.[174] At least with respect to Sepphoris and Tiberias, then, the consumer city model seems accurate in its most basic sense: the urban centres *did* extract resources from the

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[171] Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 125. Cf. Sean Freyne, "Herodian Economics in Galilee," 25-26.

[172] Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 51.

[173] Donald Engels, *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990). Corinth, for example, offered entertainment and services specially tailored to visitors drawn to the city. See also, Helen M. Parkins, ed., *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

[174] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 32.

countryside and the rural peoples did probably not welcome this extraction. Even so, the oppression of the countryside by the dominant cities should not be exaggerated. Sepphoris and Tiberias also offered new economic prospects in the region, such as employment and trade opportunities, and so the urban-rural distinction was far more complex and interactive in the region than many scholars have noticed.[175] For example, Keith Hopkins argues:

> It is wrong to assume that peasants got nothing in return. They got law, protection, peace, rituals, ceremonies and medical advice, even surgery. Towns gave independent peasants and free tenants opportunity to buy extra food and services, necessities and luxuries (tools, pots, seeds, pastries). Moreover, the towns themselves generated economic activity.[176]

The complexity of the Galilean economy, then, was frequently mutually beneficial for the towns and the countryside. Furthermore, even the sporadic outbursts of hostility between urban and rural people presuppose a significant amount of interaction and engagement. Edwards agrees, "economic models for the Lower Galilee in the first century that propose an innate or structural hostility between urban and rural areas fail to recognize the degree of economic reciprocity that often existed between these two areas; the bond was beneficial to both."[177] In sum, a modified version of the consumer city model seems appropriate, but it should be accepted cautiously.

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[175] Finley hinted at this point years ago (*The Ancient Economy*, 123), but it seems few have taken it seriously: "The true city in classical antiquity encompassed both the *chora*, the rural hinterland, and an urban centre, where the best people resided, where the community had its administration and its public cults."

[176] Hopkins, "Economic Growth and Towns in Classical Antiquity," 75.

[177] Edwards, "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos of the Lower Galilee in the First Century," 62.

Q's Attitudes Toward Aspects of the Urban Setting

The preceding discussions have reconstructed relevant aspects of the socio-economic world in Galilee, and the setting presupposed by the text of Q seems to make sense within that reconstruction, especially when the notable contact and, in some cases, overlap between urban and rural regions is recognized. The final section of this chapter turns again to the Q document to analyze the authors' attitudes toward the urban areas. Their rhetoric makes patent that the authors were cognizant of the social and economic inequality that accompanied urbanization.[178]

Q's Criticism

Since Q is not a narrative, the content of its sayings—the judgments, the criticisms, and the recommendations—communicate the text's core message. It is through sayings related to the following aspects of the urban setting that the authors' demonstrate their criticisms of the social and economic inequality in Galilee.

1. Status Display

Conspicuous status display is at the fore of the Q people's explicit concerns. The text overtly confronts prominent figures in the social world of the Q people. For instance, the Pharisees are admonished for desiring "the place of honour at banquets and the front seat in the synagogues and accolades in the market. (Q 11:43)" Likewise the exegetes of the law are rebuked for enjoying their influence over those who must obey them, while they

[178] Arnal's study of Q^1 in *Jesus and the Village Scribes* has been particularly influential in my understanding of Q's rhetoric. Although I have drawn on materials from other strata of Q for my study, much of this section is indebted to his analysis.

themselves do not follow their own laws (Q 11:46b). The Jewish crowds coming out to be baptized, moreover, are reproached for desiring the status of Abraham's children (Q 3:8) while doing nothing to make themselves worthy of that title. Those who presume to judge others while not seeing their own flaws (Q 6:41-42) are similarly criticized. Against these groups undeserving of their statuses, the Q people align themselves with the figures of Jesus and John, figures whose statuses do not rest upon vanity and presumption. The text contrasts John, for instance, as one unsurpassed by the offspring of women, with "those wearing finery [who] are in king's houses" (Q 7:25). These passages evince the authors' criticism of the sense of entitlement that often accompanies high status.

What is significant is that the criticisms in Q do not suggest that any particular status (that of the Pharisees, the exegetes of the law, the Jews, etc) is bad, but that the behaviours frequently accompanying elite status—the sense of entitlement, the conspicuous display of power, and the abuse of the authority— are. As they stand, then, the discussions of status display make a larger commentary on the concept of status in the ancient world: social hierarchies in general, at least as played out in the world of the Q people, are problematic; the elite are depicted as hypocritical and pretentious. The Q people question this entire structure, and as Mack argues, they suggest, "customary pretensions are hollow.. Claim to superior status based on such things as wealth, learning, possessions, secrets, rank, and power is exposed as questionable if not ridiculous."[179] This understanding of social status contributes to Q's central inversionary theme, which functions to undermine the current order (see below).

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[179] Mack, *The Lost Gospel*, 111.

It is worth noting that the setting for an *effective* status display, one which clearly communicates a message of wealth and power, occurs in and often requires public urban spaces, such as synagogues, royal banquets, and markets. Without a considerable audience, the conventional social hierarchy cannot be reinforced.

2. Accumulation of Wealth

Related to Q's criticism of status display is the criticism of wealth and the apparent encouragement of voluntary poverty. This rhetoric is likely due in part to the obvious fact that those tending toward conspicuous status display also had large amounts of accumulated wealth to display. Hence, Q advises against this. Q 6:30 enjoins the audience to lend freely,[180] while Q 11:4 invites them to cancel the debts of those who owe them. Moreover, the text decrees that no one can love both God and Mammon (Q 6:13). In the brief temptation story, Q presents Jesus as rejecting worldly goods and power (Q 4:5-8).[181] Finally, Q 12:33-34 most notably cautions against accumulating treasure: "Do not store for yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and gnawing deface and where robbers dig through and rob, but treasure for yourselves treasures in heaven where neither moth nor gnawing defaces and where robbers do not dig through nor rob. For where your treasure is, there will also be your heart."

In short, if these verses represent actual advice, they maintain that one should not be preoccupied with seeking, accumulating, or hoarding material possessions. Instead,

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[180] Leif Vaage's comparison of this verse, among many others, to Cynic discourse should be noted: L. E. Vaage, "Q and Cynicism: On Comparison and Social Identity," in *The Gospels Behind the Gospels: Current Studies in Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; Supplements to Novum Testamentum LXXV; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995) 218-29.

[181] The temptation story has other functions as well. It served to bolster Jesus' authority and criticize Israel's relationship with God, among other things. See Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q*, 246-62.

one should receive all people equally with pity and rely on God to provide life's necessities. What is interesting about Q's attitudes toward the accumulation of wealth is that, economically speaking, it is highly unrealistic and financially disastrous if implemented. The calls to lend freely and never to enforce repayment are not economically viable. Even less feasible is the commendation of voluntary poverty, such as that sometimes supposed in the Beatitudes. This language, then, is better explained by Q's tendency to use inversionary language for rhetorical purposes. The references to the "hungry" and "poor," for example, should not be taken to imply that the Q people encouraged or embraced an impoverished existence. Arnal explains that in the case of the Beatitudes *actual* poverty and economic status are not at issue; rather, this questionable rhetoric, by its near absurdity, functions to undermine economic hierarchies by questioning the values on which they are based (i.e. that wealth is desirable and poverty is undesirable).[182]

What this suggests, then, is akin to the discussions of status display, Q's metaphorical discussions of wealth serve another purpose than merely the surface criticism of possession. The use of these discussions is part of an inversionary rhetorical scheme which signals the unconventionality of Q's message and social project, one which undermines current social and economic hierarchies.[183]

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[182] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 187-91.

[183] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 183, 197.

3. Administrative Structure

Several scholars have remarked that Q is notably suspicious of the ubiquitous Galilean administrative structure, in particular the legal system. We have already seen that Q criticizes the accumulation of wealth and its role in sustaining the problematic social hierarchy. So also, the rhetoric of lending generously and cancelling debts (Q 11:4) makes a commentary on the administrative structure: it function to undermine the administrative structure that implicitly supports the unjust social hierarchy. This makes more sense than assuming that the Q people somehow saw this as realistic or practical advice.

The Q people's apparent problems with the legal system are best articulated by Ronald Piper, in his discussion of the language of conflict in Q.[184] The calls to avoid court by any means necessary, even if it means enduring violence or theft (Q 6:29), and the encouragement to settle out of court for fear of prison (Q 12:58-59) indicates to some a genuine lack of confidence in the legal system.[185] Piper opines that what is most significant in these passages is that they indicate *on-going* conflict over a long period of time. What is more, even though they seem to be fairly familiar with legal processes and the like, they do not see any reason to participate in them. Avoidance or non-retaliation, as Piper points out, is "an affront to ancient Mediterranean codes of honor and shame."[186] Codes of honour and shame dictated the dominant modes of social interaction, and by questioning them through this sort of discussion, the authors are in essence questioning

[184] Piper's essay is also employs the term "violence." I prefer to use the terminology of conflict (which Piper also uses), not violence, because I am not convinced that actual violence is in view for the Q people.

[185] Piper, "The Language of Violence and the Aphoristic Sayings in Q," 60.

[186] Piper, "The Language of Violence and the Aphoristic Sayings in Q," 55.

the very foundation of society. Thus, once again we see Q's inversionary rhetoric function to undermine the entire ideological structure as a whole, not just to criticize one manifestation of it.

The administrative structure, as we have seen, accompanied and facilitated urbanization, making the enforcement of taxes and debt collection much more effective and consistent. For the Q people, it was a system in which they saw no advantage. Thus the Q people propose a "radical" alternative: avoid them altogether and engage in relationships outside of the system. Again, the pressing issue here is not just that the Q people have been taken to court or that they do not appreciate paying taxes. The criticism addresses a larger structural issue: the administrative structure benefits some groups over others. That is to say, it contributes to the problematic social and economic hierarchies that Q seeks to question and to undermine.

4. Fair Judgment

Q's sayings about fair judgment display attitudes towards other salient aspects of the urban setting. In some passages, Q appears to discourage judgment altogether. Q 6:37a reads, "Do not pass judgment, so you are not judged," and Q 6:35c-d encourages one to be like the Father who "raises his sun on the bad and good and rains on the just and unjust." Coupled with the sayings on impartial love (Q 6:32, 34), a cursory reading might yield of picture of the Q people as a group dominated by total equality. But a closer reading reveals that the Q people are very much proponents of judging others. What distinguishes them, however, is the demand for fair judgment.

The passage on knowing a tree by its fruit (Q 6:43-45), for instance, presumes judgment on part of the observer. It supposes actions in the public sphere by which one may be judged. Q 6:31 and Q 6:38, the sayings on the "golden rule" and the honest measure in the marketplace, are similar in that they refer to morality based on fair judgment. Q's concern with judgment, then, appears to envision a realm in which deceit and dishonesty do not interfere with the natural order, in which fair judgment plays an important and necessary role.

This concern for fair judgment is especially appropriate to the urban setting; contact with the urban world increased uncertainty in exchange and other dealings. Morley points out, for instance, the anxiety in commercial exchange:

> The marketplace was a fertile source of disputes; from the merchant's point of view, if the risk of being cheated or robbed—or falsely accused of sharp practice—was too great, or the cost of trying to protect oneself against it was too high, then it was better not to embark on a transaction in the first place. The development of any form of exchange beyond small-scale, highly personalized exchanges between members of the same community depended on establishing a workable alternative to trust as a basis for proceeding.[187]

Oddly, whereas the discourses on status display and on accumulated wealth function to undermine the current social and economic order, the material on fair judgment seems utterly conventional. The Q people did not advocate withdrawing from every-day interactions, but they did envision a return to a pristine (imagined) time when business interactions were marked by integrity of the dealers and the judicial system was impartial.

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[187] Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 58.

In fact, by describing the ideal state of judgment, the authors reinforce aspects of the social system. Overall, though, it can be maintained that the Q people take an overtly critical stance toward many features of urban centres and many aspects accompanying urbanization.

Q's Ethos

These criticisms related to aspects of the urban setting can be interpreted into some general statements about Q's ethos. First, the Q people disapprove of social and economic inequality, especially when the inequality clearly benefits an elite few at the expense of others. Second, the authors reject impersonal, mediated forms of social and economic engagement. These criticisms contain "the assumption that there must be a better way to live,"[188] and indeed, they offer their own solution: the kingdom of God.

In the Q people's description of the kingdom of God, all people are treated with impartial judgment (see especially, Q 6:20-38), debts are forgiven (Q 11:4), and life's anxieties are quelled (Q 12:22b-31). The hierarchies implicitly challenged in their critiques are dissolved. In short, the authors expound a world of ostensible equality before God,[189] unmediated by the social and political figures in the current hegemonic state. It is a social program that "will put an end to the extended social and economic hierarchies by which some locals gain tremendously at the apparent expense of everyone

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[188] Mack, *The Lost Gospel*, 111. Even more precise, there *was* formerly a better way to live and it has disappeared under the new order.

[189] Although the "equality" is more apparent than real. The rhetoric, as Arnal points out, certainly retains common status and gender inequalities: "One should thus not be misled by the rhetoric of Q itself…Q takes for granted the legitimate existence of rich and poor, of creditors and debtors, as well as the more obvious distinctions between men and women, children and parents. (*Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 150)"

else."[190] Finally, it is marked by complete commitment to the vision, often at the expense of social institutions such as the family (Q 14:26).[191] To emulate the kingdom, the audience is encouraged to pursue neither high status nor excessive wealth and to engage in relationships honestly and impartially.

The Q people, then, envision a existence modeled on what they have championed as their traditional existence, whether or not that existence was ever manifest in reality.[192] Their suspicions of the impending economic and social changes are understandable, for they do not appear to have substantial power in this new order. In the kingdom of God, however, they imagined a world, free from the intermediaries and restrictions that the Q people experienced in their daily, anxiety-ridden lives. Sometimes identified as radical,[193] their envisioned ideal community is characterized by unmediated, personal exchange, a life free from worldly anxiety and expounding communal values—such is the kingdom of God.

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[190] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 197.

[191] I do not necessarily think this passage should be interpreted as the Q people's call to reject family life. Rather, it seems metaphorical: the social program requires so great a commitment that it can be compared to renouncing one's family.

[192] Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 197.

[193] Despite the frequent claim that Q promotes a "radical" ethic, I see very little blatantly radical in the text. After all, the authors chose very common literary styles, motifs, and tropes to communicate their message—a fact that works against the absolute radical aspect of the text. Moreover, they are imagining a social order which is in their immediate past. In that sense and at least in their imagination, they are conservative and resistant to change; what is unconventional for them is the new order. The tendency to view early Jesus people's programs as radically unconventional is, I think, bordering on the theological assumption about the uniqueness of Christianity. This emphasizes, to my mind, why the Cynic analogy might yield some fruitful comparison for some Q materials—it shows an analogous group being overtly "radical" but at the same time following conventions of their own.

The Necessity of the Urban in Q

The perspective that comes into view in Q's sayings indicates that it was critical of the "urban economic penetration,"[194] and the social and economic inequality that accompanied it. It is worth noting, however, that while the Q people criticize some features of the urban setting and the social and economic consequences that are related to them, they nevertheless require that setting in many cases. The urban setting provided, in reality, a densely populated audience for the Q people's message, and in the narrative world, a scenario in which the Q people were unfairly rejected. For instance, several scholars have noted that the Q people's "mission" was aimed at villages and towns (Q 10:5-9).[195] Arnal suggests they offered their message in sort of pseudo-official capacity, taking advantage of the administrative structure among village networks. In the setting within the confines of the text, the towns and villages become backdrops for the Q people addressing their audience and being rejected by the audience. Hence, the urban is the setting of a *potentially* successful mission by the Q people. So also, Kloppenborg has convincingly argued that the spatial orientation of Q's narrative world makes positive things happen in the "wasteland" or rural realm, while rejection, overt social inequality and the like occur in the urban region.[196]

Moreover, the miracles stories, sparse as they are in Q, necessitate a significant audience to be rhetorically effective. That is, the miracles require a significant audience;

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[194] Arnal, "Gendered Couplets in Q and Legal Formulations," 93.

[195] For instance, Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes*, 180-81.

[196] As argued in Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland." He summarizes his position again in a later work (*Excavating Q*, 259): "Running throughout Q is a tension between "natural," agricultural, and familiar processes, which are characterized as sources of insight and models for emulation, and the "higher" elements of culture, mostly associated with urban centers, are treated negatively."

this explains the necessity of "the crowds" (Q 11:4; 12:8-9) in the text, which is not necessarily indicative of real crowds of people. So too, Q's understanding of fair judgment rests on the assumption that one's worth is known through their public action. This again requires a public setting.

We can thus surmise that despite all its criticism, the Q people were active in some urban areas and were aware of the rhetorical advantage of presenting their message in an urban setting. If anything, the public setting made their perceived rejection all the more acerbic.

Q's Rhetoric in its Historical-Ideological Context

Frequently, scholarship has a tendency (implicitly, and sometimes theologically) to explain the success of early Christianity by appealing to the absolute uniqueness of the Christian message. In the case of Q and its rhetoric, its attitude is hardly unique. In particular, its problems with the accumulation of wealth and scepticism of fair judgment in commerce have counterparts in the writings of Greco-Roman authors. We have seen that the Q people responded to a specific set of circumstances, but even so, attitudes similar to that in Q crop up elsewhere outside of that particular context.

We saw that Q was opposed to the accumulation of wealth and partial judgment, for example, in its overt criticism of urban centres. Yet, Chapter One demonstrated that they were clearly familiar and engaged with that setting. Thus, there is a certain discord between the text's rhetoric and its reality. Authors contemporary with the Q people show similar criticisms and a similar discord between rhetoric and reality. For instance, the rabbinic writings evince this tendency. They encourage the ideal of self-sufficiency and

criticize trade and market activity, but their discussions speak of an elaborate system of trade. Safrai maintains, "On a theoretical level, commerce and business was looked down upon. On a practical level, however, the sages realized that trade was inevitable, and both the sages and the public in general accommodated themselves to this reality."[197] So also, John H. D'arms has demonstrated that Graeco-Roman authors such as Cicero explicitly spoke against activities such as commerce in their writings even while covertly participating in them.[198] Similar to the Q people, their attitudes do not correspond with reality.

Needless to say, these other writings that I have pointed out did not employ the rhetoric to the same ends as Q. Neither the Graeco-Roman authors nor the rabbis attempted to use their criticism to undermine the status quo. Rather, I have included these examples to show that Q's rhetoric is not entirely uncommon for our time period. Q was neither innovative nor unique in its response to the urban.

Thus, it was ultimately the new social structure accompanying Roman urbanization that occasioned the criticisms seen in Q. Insofar as a return to an imagined communal society failed, we can say Q's social program failed.[199] However, the outlook was appealing enough for the document to survive long enough to be incorporated into both Matthew and Luke; thus Q's imagination was not entirely unattractive. That Q is familiar with an urban setting or reflects the economic pressures of urbanization, however, is highly debated in modern scholarship. As I have noted in passing thus far,

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[197] Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine*, 314.

[198] John H. D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 1981).

[199] So also, Arnal, *Jesus and the Villages Scribes*, 200.

many prefer to emphasize the rural nature of Galilee and the relative cultural and economic isolation of Galileans. This polarizing rural-urban dichotomy is one among many up for debate in modern reconstructions of Galilee, and it is to these debates and the issues they raise that the final chapter turns.

CHAPTER 3

Q AND MODERN RECONSTRUCTIONS OF GALILEE

This thesis has thus far sought to explain Q's setting and attitude towards the urban using data from first-century Galilee. This method has yielded useful results, as the socio-economic evidence seems to explain much of Q's imagery and rhetoric. This final chapter approaches the same issues from the opposite direction: it inquires about what Q, as an autonomous document, might tell us about Galilee. It then examines common descriptive paradigms of Galilee in modern research and asks which of those might be supported or undermined if Q is taken as representative evidence of Galilee. I will argue furthermore that disagreements over Galilee are inextricably intertwined with modern reconstructions of Christian origins and Jesus.

Q and Galilee

Instead of agreeing with Chancey that efforts to place Q are "largely speculative," I now assume a Galilean provenance for Q and examine the text for what it suggests about Galilee. This method has been largely ignored in modern scholarship due to the hypothetical nature of the document and the apparently constant need to demonstrate its Galilean origin.

Society and Economy

As discussed in Chapter One, Q has much to say about its setting. If taken as an autonomous witness for Galilee, Q informs the modern scholar that the region was

marked by a diverse socio-economic structure, within which some prosperity was possible but also within which social and economic inequality were evident. The preponderance of agricultural imagery in Q bolsters the overall contention that Galilee was a rural society, but the frequency of urban imagery also attests to the growing impact of urbanization. A significant portion of the population was economically stressed by the changes accompanying urbanization; the realities of debt and taxation are evident in Q, as is the new administrative structure that accompanied urbanization. Q also indicates movement between urban and rural sphere, so that any monolithic label, "urban" or "rural," cannot fully account for the activity within the region.

What is particularly significant about Q, however, is its noteworthy perspective on interplay between the urban and the rural within Galilee. Typically, written documents reflect a very limited social stratum: the educated elite. Q's authors, however, were not from the elite social class. Moreover, they might have experienced first-hand the deteriorating socio-economic conditions[200] or have "thrown in their lot" with the peasants' conditions.[201] That is, the authors' imagination seems to align their experiences with those of the destitute peasants, even though it is uncertain if they had direct experience with peasant life. In any case, Q becomes an "artefact" of the illiterate peasant population and so has the opportunity to provide evidence for the attitudes, concerns, and perspective that are usually non-existent in the archaeological record.

Also significant is Q's evidence that at least some Galileans integrated social and economic issues with religious discourse in a way that is frequently ignored by modern

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[200] Kloppenborg, "Literary Convention, Self-Evidence and the Social History of the Q People," 87.

[201] As proposed by Arnal and cited in the previous chapter; see n. 157.

scholars. That is, scholars have a tendency to be rather limited in their understanding of a religious expression, and so look for documents or archaeological remains that mirror theological beliefs, which are thought to express a religion in its totality. For example, when trying to understand the Jewishness of Galilee, scholars often emphasize the presence of *miqva'ot* in settlements or the lack of pig bones at Galilean sites, because they are seen as indications of "typical" Jewish beliefs.[202] These points are, of course, significant, but they indicate the scholar's presumption that theological *ideas* resulted in Galilean religious practice. The Q people, on the other hand, demonstrate a religious expression that derives from social and economic circumstances *first*; theological ideas and imagination develop secondarily. No doubt the Q people were familiar with *miqva'ot* and the rituals associated with them, but they do not feel compelled to write about them. Similarly, the Q people do not lambaste pagan practices or chastise Hellenism overtly, even though they were probably familiar with them too. Even more significantly, while the text uses the figure of Jesus, the document is not really about the historical Jesus.[203] Thus, Q indicates that, for at least some Galileans, "religious" discourse did not always require theological ideas or revelations; it could focus on the tangible and quotidian matters of ordinary life.

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[202] For example, Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 44.

[203] By this, I mean only that the impetus for writing Q does not seem to be to disseminate information about the historical Jesus. Similarly, William E. Arnal, *The Symbolic Jesus: Historical Scholarship, Judaism and the Construction of Contemporary Identity* (Religion in Culture: Studies in Social Contest and Construction; London: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2005) 75-76.

Language and Literary Expression

The question of the written and spoken language in Galilee occupies much scholarly attention because of language's assumed connection with culture. As far as evidence for written Greek in Galilee, scholars have very little evidence.[204] This has led some to conclude that Greek was not spoken or written by the majority of the population. Either Hebrew or Aramaic are assumed to be the lingua franca. And so, the fact that Q was a document written in Greek has several implications for Galilee.[205]

First, Q suggests that written Greek was not restricted to the elite. The authors of Q, low-level scribal figures, composed in Greek and assumed that their audience would know Greek. It should also be noted that Josephus, too, took pains to compose in Greek, assuming his audience would require that language. Whether or not he composed *specifically* for Galileans, Galilee is a very significant locale in his writings, and so would be important for his Greek-speaking audience. Moreover, the increasing presence of scribal figures, such as the Q people, in Galilee indicates, in part, the pervasiveness and necessity of Greek, at least for official transactions. If Galilee were an "oral society" and conducted business in Hebrew or Aramaic, fewer scribal figures would be necessary to facilitate official business. Q, of course, does not appear to be "official" business, and so

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[204] We have, of course, Josephus' writings from throughout Palestine, and from his writings, we know of one Justus of Tiberias, also a Jewish historian. Even so, their writings are limited to the concerns and perspectives of their social sector. Chancey further argues for the limited evidence for written Greek in Galilee, by explaining that Greek inscriptions from Galilee are practically non-existent in this period: "From the time of Jesus—the first thirty years of the century—a market weight from Tiberias and Antipas's coins constitute the full body of published evidence. (*Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*, 162)"

[205] That Q was written has already been demonstrated (see ch. 2 n. 75). That it was written in Greek is argued persuasively by Kloppenborg as well (*The Formation of Q*, 59-64; *Excavating Q*, 72-80). He explains that the order of the words and the placement of certain particles, conjunctions, and modifiers, among other techniques, point to an original composition in Greek. These stylistic patterns are not likely in translation Greek. This, of course, does not rule out an oral history behind parts of Q but only suggests that its original written form was in Greek.

we can surmise that written Greek was used in Galilee by non-elites and for non-official purposes.

That written Greek was used is significant, because language is frequently used as a cultural indicator of Galilee. That is, those arguing for a thoroughly Hellenized Galilee tend to posit Greek as widespread,[206] whereas those who posit a predominantly Jewish Galilee that was resistant to Hellenistic customs usually posit Hebrew or Aramaic as the most common language.[207] Unfortunately, that assumption is based on a very simplistic notion of culture, wherein inhabitants would be unable to navigate successfully more than one culture or language. A Galilean, for instance, might speak Aramaic in a local village but also know the necessary Greek dialogue to purchase goods from a larger market.[208] Thus, there is not a direct correlation between language and culture, and while Q shows that Greek was clearly used in Galilee, this conclusion really only indicates a widespread language, not a dominant culture.

Second, Q also indicates that it was not uncommon to respond to social and economic pressures through writing. This is, I think, very important in this setting. Many scholars have emphasized the popular or peasant protests in Galilee, to which Josephus frequently refers.[209] Popular protests and rebellions certainly occurred, but the consequence of this scholarly emphasis is that Galileans are portrayed as violent or at least physically responsive folk. In the case of Q, however, we see people who at least imagine themselves in the same desolate circumstances as the peasants, but instead

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[206] For example, Kee, "Early Christianity in the Galilee," 21.

[207] For example, Freyne, *Galilee From Alexander the Great to Hadrian*, 139-45; Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*, 122-62.

[208] Kee ("Early Christianity in the Galilee, 20-21) writes of the "bilingual cultural of Galilee."

[209] Horsley and Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets and Messiahs*; Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 168-206.

formulate a creative literary response, envision a utopian kingdom of God. The authors' literary response, and their continued preoccupation with it, is similar to the imaginative strategies of Graeco-Roman philosophical schools, such as Epicureans, Cynics, and Pythagoreans.[210] In the same way, the Q people might be seen as a school of thought which used a literary strategy as its response to relative powerlessness in the Roman world.

The Q people, as we have seen, were of moderate social status, and so this sort of imagination and response to perceived powerlessness was not confined to the highly educated. It might be suggested that even some Galileans of lower social status than the Q people had a similar imagination; perhaps they just did not have the resources, especially education, to air their grievances as the Q people did, that is, in the written word. In short, protest, banditry, and rebellion are only a few responses to socio-economic pressures; the Q people's written, imaginative response is another.

Third, the literary fact of Q and the presumption that the authors were somewhat educated and familiar with some contemporary literary forms means that there must have been somewhere to educate them. As discussed in Chapter One, the authors do not seem to be all that familiar with Jerusalem as a civic entity. Moreover, it seems absurd, especially if Schams is correct about the increasing number of scribes in the region, to envision a mass movement of ordinary people to Jerusalem for scribal education. We can thus probably rule out that city as the location of their education. Accordingly, in Galilee

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[210] Braun, "Socio-Mythic Invention, Graeco-Roman Schools, and the Sayings Gospel Q," 226. Braun is quick to point out, however, that while the Graeco-Roman school analogy might prove useful for understanding the authors' response to their circumstances and their prolonged preoccupation with their textual creation, "there are no self-evident, clear paths or unbroken lines between the contextual analogue of the Graeco-Roman 'school' and the socio-mythic project signified by 'Q'. (211)"

there must have been a standardized, even if rudimentary, system for educating and training the administrative figures.

In sum, Q indicates that writing was not uncommon in Galilee. This sort of writing need not be constrained to the elite population or to official or Roman business. It does not necessarily indicate anything about the dominant cultural forces in Galilee, but it does point to an alternative form of response to social and economic issues.

Religion and Ethnicity

I am hesitant to use the term "religion" for this time period, given the recent arguments that ancient religions were embedded in political and social structures.[211] However, there *were* systems of belief that the modern reader would deem "religious," and so its use is unavoidable. Although Q's contributions to reconstructing "Galilean religion," if such a thing existed, are limited, the text suggests some implications about Judaism in the region.

First, the Q people have an obvious Jewish identity, supporting the well-documented conclusion that the Galilean population was mostly Jewish. Their Jewish identity is known by the explicit references to Gentiles (Q 6:34; 12:30) and the abundant references to Israel's epic history throughout the text (Q 11:32-32; 11:49-51; 17:26-30, among many others).[212] There is no developed polemic against Gentiles; rather, the references should be taken as indications that engagement with Gentiles was neither uncommon nor particularly problematic in Galilee. The rhetoric is nothing like the later

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[211] For example, Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 133.

[212] Kloppenborg ("City and Wasteland") also notes that the authors use the Lot story from Genesis 18-19 throughout the text to structure the "story world" and the characters within it.

rabbinic writings, which are preoccupied with how to engage in business or trade with Gentiles.[213] The references to Jerusalem and the law indicate that the Q people, perhaps most Galileans too, were aware of the Temple and felt its influence, even if they resisted conforming to its standards. In short, Jewishness in Galilee is taken for granted by the Q people.

Second, more importantly, Q's rhetoric indicates that some sort of intra-religious tension was present in Galilee. For instance, the announcement of judgment against those who presume to be children of Abraham (Q 3:7-9) and the polemic against "this generation" throughout the document (e.g. Q 7:31; 11:16) indicate intra-Jewish conflicts. It should be noted that the Q people's hyper-sensitivity to their Jewish identity and the proper expression of Jewishness is most evident in Q^2 and Q^3. As explained by Arnal, the Q people seem increasingly to emphasize their Jewish identity with each subsequent redaction.[214] This could mean that these socio-religious conflicts developed at a later period in time.[215]

Third, somewhat discordantly, Q implies that even though intra-Jewish conflicts seem present in the region, they were not always the most salient social conflicts. Certainly the perceived hostility and rejection that the Q people felt became central, but, judging from material in Q^1, their presence was not the *initial* occasion for Q's writing.

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[213] Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee*, 41-53.

[214] Arnal, "The Q Document," 145. Although I have not focused too much on the authors' editorial tendencies thus far, I think it is significant with respect to Q's Jewish identity.

[215] We should not automatically conflate literary history with tradition history. That is, just because some feature appears in a later redaction of Q, that does not necessarily indicate it developed at that point or *could not* be found earlier. However, the harsh polemic in Q^2 seems to indicate that something at a later temporal stage, perhaps the authors' rejection or perceived sense of rejection, necessitated the Q people's secondary redaction.

As demonstrated in the last chapter, the Q people single out economic issues with their criticism of status display and the accumulation of wealth; the authors do not imply that these problems are caused by anything inherent in Judaism or among Jews. In short, at least as evinced by Q initially, the political or religious issues associated with Judaism are present but do not seem that pressing.

It should be noted that Horsley's research on Galilee and Q, however, takes the opposite position; he argues that Q evinces a prophetic renewal program directly related to tensions between Galilean Judaism and Judean Judaism (especially Q 6:20-49[216] and Q 9:57-10:16[217]), especially as represented by Judean elites. This opinion is most problematic because it is based on the assumption that Galileans were ethnically Northern Israelite (see below). Moreover, as suggested, the intra-Jewish hostilities appear at the secondary redaction; Q's initial vision does not appear to envisage Horsley's "renewal program." In any case, Q can be an independent witness for some sort of Galilean Judaism—how far that can be taken as evidence for "normative" Second Temple Judaism is another matter.

The point of these preceding discussions is to demonstrate some of the ways that Q can be used as evidence for Galilee.[218] Q can contribute to modern reconstructions of Galilean society, economy, language, religion, and ethnicity. Q does not always have to be explained *by* Galilee; rather in some cases, Galilee may be constructed in part *through*

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[216] Horsley with Draper, *Whoever Hears You Hears Me*, 195-227

[217] Horsley with Draper, *Whoever Hears You Hears Me*, 228-49

[218] For more detailed discussions specifically about Q and Judaism, see the following examples: Arnal, "The Q Document"; Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 223-34; Wendy J. Cotter, "Prestige, Protection and Promise: A Proposal of the Apologetics of Q[29]"; Horsley with Draper, *Whoever Hears You Hears Me: Prophets Performance, and Tradition in Q*.

Q. The use of Q must proceed with caution, however, because in some cases, Q might not represent a typical Galilean perspective. We have seen, for instance, that the Q people know about rural activities, even though they might not be directly engaged in them. Although the text ultimately represents the perspective of a middling scribal class, the authors seem to align themselves with the peasant class, and so through careful reading, the text might also provide evidence for the activities of the Galilean peasantry.

Modern Reconstructions of Galilee:

If the aspects I have just discussed are valid inferences concerning Galilee, it affects some of the recent portrayals of Galilee in modern scholarship. Modern constructions of Galilee seem to be marked by a number of dominant paradigms. Reed has also noted this:

> The ethos of first-century Galilee has been positioned along a series of axes: in terms of ethnicity, it has been described as Jewish, "Israelite," or even syncretistic and Gentile; in terms of cultural traditions and religion, Galilee has been portrayed as either conservatively Jewish or Hellenistic; in terms of economics, either impoverished or prosperous; in terms of its political climate, it has been portrayed as either zealously nationalistic or shrewdly acquiescent. How Galilee is shaded has a profound impact on how Jesus' life and teachings are interpreted.[219]

These axial descriptions are due in part to the fragmentary nature of the evidence, which is admittedly subject to a variety of interpretations, but even so they also seem to be

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[219] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 8-9.

implicitly related to assumptions about early Christianity.[220] In this section I examine some central dichotomies that exist among modern reconstructions of Galilee, and then question how evidence from Q might affect these portrayals. I also speculate why these controlling paradigms exist in the first place and what sort of contextual "work" these depictions accomplish for modern imaginations of early Christianity.

Controlling Paradigms

On the nature of Galilee, scholars are divided. Freyne once confidently asserted, "The historicity and culture of the Galilee are, relatively speaking, much more open to the recovery than those of almost any other region in antiquity."[221] However, there is far from any conclusion on how Galilee is best understood. As it turns out, Q can support some of these opinions but also can undermine others.

1. Socio-economic Structure: Urban or Rural

The first dichotomy of Galilee is that of an urban or a rural society. Scholars seem compelled to define Galilee's society and economy in terms of these two adjectives. This is due in part to a need to understand social relationships and ordinary lives of Galileans, and as the first two chapters have indicated, I see the value in this methodology as well. The urban-rural distinction is also due in part, I think, to the need to compare and contrast this sort of social activity with that seen in the Pauline communities, which are known for

[220] "Reconstructions of the setting of Jesus [read: Galilee] that are based primarily on the literary sources not only neglect a major aspect of scholarship but also perpetuate a misleading, theologically predetermined picture of the setting of Jesus that does not account for the complex social world of Early Roman Palestine. (Moreland, "Archaeology in New Testament Courses," 135)"

[221] Freyne, "Urban-Rural Relations in First-Century Galilee," 45.

their markedly urban character.[222] In any case, many modern studies on Galilee tend to focus on either Galilee's urban or rural nature, often to the exclusion of the other.

On one hand, Galilee is described as an utterly rural region, devoid of any significant cities and so devoid of the cultural influences of Hellenism. Even though he has since refined his position, Freyne's study on Roman Galilee has been remarkably influential on the conception of Galilee as an isolated rural region.[223] Likewise, in describing Jesus' context, Geza Vermès discusses "the simple people of rural Galilee."[224] E. P. Sanders similarly writes of "the farm-dwelling peasants in Galilee [who] worked six days a week from dawn to dusk."[225] Accordingly, this position maintains that trade and economic activity was sporadic and not particularly central to the Galilean economy.[226] In sum, it is argued that Galilee was an economically and socially isolated, and a regionally distinct locale, mostly untouched by cultural and economic change associated with Hellenism and Roman urbanization.

This position has received criticism recently. In Mack's words:

> Since Galilee was not known as a land of origin for a specific ethnic identity with its cultivation of hoary traditions, or for its cultural production of literature and

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[222] As discussed in Wayne Meeks' seminal study *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul.*

[223] Freyne, *Galilee From Alexander the Great to Hadrian.* Cf. Freyne, "Urban-Rural Relations in First-Century Galilee," 75-91.

[224] Geza Vermès, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973) 49.

[225] E. P Sanders, "Jesus in Historical Context," *Theology Today* 50:3 (Oct. 1993): 445. Parenthetically, this conception of farm labour is not substantiated by the evidence. Paul Erdkamp ("Agriculture, Underemployment, and the Cost of Rural Labour in the Roman World," *CQ* 49:2 (1999): 556-72), for instance, has shown that relatively predictably seasonal fluctuations frequently created situations of underemployment in the agricultural sector.

[226] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 120, among other places.

> institutions of religion, some scholars have concluded that it was largely rural in mentality and peasant in population, a sort of illiterate, sleepy backwater isolated from the political and ideological currents that determined loyalties in the bouncy history of Palestine and the Levant.[227]

Subsequently, many scholars have suggested that Galilee's socio-economic structure was more complex than previously thought. For instance, Mack argues for a more cosmopolitan, urban society, where trade and cultural contact were "constant."[228] So also, Crossan contends that Galilee "was as urbanized and urbane as anywhere else in the empire."[229] Meyers labels Sepphoris as a "major urban center"[230] of Galilee, while Edwards writes of the many "commercial connections" in Lower Galilee.[231] E.P. Sanders has argued that these scholars seem to emphasize "prosperity [in Galilee] rather than poverty,"[232] but they appear rather to emphasis the *diversity* of Galilean society and economy rather than any specific sort of prosperity.

As evidence from Q shows, the urban-rural dichotomy is far too rigid to account for all that was going on in Galilee. More importantly, *urbanization*, as a dynamic process, is far more significant for this time period than any static urban or rural setting, and so I am most persuaded by scholars such as Arnal and Reed who emphasize this

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[227] Mack, *The Lost Gospel*, 57.

[228] Mack, *The Lost Gospel*, 55.

[229] Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 19.

[230] Eric M. Meyers, "Roman Sepphoris in Light of New Archaeological Evidence and Recent Research," in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee I. Levine; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992) 321.

[231] Edwards, "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos of the Lower Galilee in the First Century," 55.

[232] Sanders, "Jesus in Historical Context," 431.

process over any single description. Thus, the evidence from Q that I discussed in previous chapters functions to undermine these rigid descriptions of Galilee and necessitates a more permeable boundary between urban and rural.

It is easy to see, though, why this dichotomy might exist, for the contexts created by each side of this paradigm are noteworthy. Whether Galilee is better understood as urban or rural has notable consequences for the modern imagination of early Christian social formation. If Galilee is considered isolated and rural, Christianity becomes the religion of the peasant or of the working person. It is an ideology that represents the most humble of the population, and which takes a moral stance against urban greed and conspicuous opulence. The figure of Jesus becomes the champion of the peasants, a sort of an ancient Robin Hood, defending those peasants who cannot defend themselves from the villainous urbanites, the Herodians and the Romans.

If on the other hand, Galilee was "as urbanized and as urbane as anywhere else in the empire," this assumption functions to provide a multicultural setting for nascent Christianity. It would perhaps account for why some parts of Q have Cynic-like material, since intellectual and philosophical ideals would have circulated in such a cosmopolitan environment. In an urban Galilee, moreover, the figure of Jesus is imagined to be a sophisticated rhetorician who is exposed to many cultural and social forms and is possibly even bilingual. His mission is sometimes explained by this sort of environment; a patent example of this assumption is evident almost 100 years ago: "The unconventionality of Jesus in mingling freely with the common people, his generosity toward the stranger and the outcast, and his conviction of the equality of all classes before God, perhaps owe their origin in no slight degree to the proximity of Nazareth to

Sepphoris."[233] Additionally, if Galilee was full of significant trading hubs, Meyers and Strange suggest it can explain why Capernaum, the "teeming Jewish commercial and agricultural center," appears to be Jesus' "headquarters."[234]

Horsley is critical of the possibility of scholarly manipulation of the Galilean context. He charges: "Recent studies of the historical Jesus have seized upon certain archaeologists' claims about the "urbanization" of Galilee in Roman times and used those views to de-Judaize Jesus and place him into a more cosmopolitan cultural context."[235] However, his language implies that scholars might *intentionally* mislead the reader, which I think is an unwarranted critique. Nevertheless, whether intentional or not, the supposed ruralness or urbanness of Galilee has definite implications for the modern imagination of Christian origins.

2. Culture: Jewish or Hellenistic Tendencies

The second axial paradigm which is prevalent in studies on Galilee is that of the cultural tendency of the region: Jewish or Hellenistic. As far as I know, no one has seriously denied that Galilee was predominantly Jewish, but still many scholars invest a great deal of time in showing that Galilee was predominantly Jewish. Freyne, for instance, discusses in detail the Galileans' commitments to making pilgrimages to Jerusalem, to paying the Temple tax, and to following Jewish law.[236] Sanders argues for the overt

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[233] Case, "Jesus and Sepphoris," 19.

[234] Eric M. Meyers and James M. Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis, and Early Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981) 26.

[235] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 1.

[236] Freyne, *Galilee From Alexander the Great to Hadrian*, 259-63.

Jewishness of Herodian rulers and Galilean towns and so feels compelled to maintain, "When all is said and done, though, it is clear that Jesus living in a Jewish context."[237] Reed also demonstrates persuasively that archaeological evidence supports a Jewish population.[238] Moreover, scholars endeavour to show that the population was identifiably Jewish, either descendants of Northern Israelite or Judean Jews (see below). There are notable examples, such as the importation of people to inhabit Tiberias and the references to "gentiles" in Q, which indicate Gentiles were at least part of the population. In any case, however, Galilee was likely mostly populated by Jews.

On the other hand, many have argued that Galilee is better understood in terms of its Hellenistic culture, often seen in this context as the antithesis of Jewish culture. Scholars emphasizing Hellenism's dominance tend to focus on intellectual and cultural influence, such as Cynic philosophy, which might have affected early Jesus people. Yet scholars such as Sanders have railed against proponents of the Galilee's Hellenistic culture, arguing that those scholars, such as Mack, Crossan, and Kee, "think that a few Greek inscriptions and the construction of a few Hellenistic buildings by Herod prove that Palestinian Jews were swamped by, and accepted whole-heartedly, the entirety of Greco-Roman culture."[239] In this way, scholars contest the dominant culture in first-century Galilee. Interestingly, none of those scholars who emphasize Hellenistic culture dismiss Jewish culture entirely. Rather they seek to acknowledge Jewish culture, but also to note the influence of Hellenism. Hellenism has been shown to affect nearly every

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[237] Sanders, "Jesus in Historical Context," 447.

[238] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 44.

[239] Sanders, "Jesus in Historical Context," 448.

other region of the empire, and so it is thought that it would have influenced Galilee similarly.

Interestingly, many scholars who de-emphasize the influence of Hellenism in Galilee tend to single out identifiable "vehicles" for Hellenism and engage in a rigorous effort to show that they were not present in the region. For instance, Freyne argues that the main vehicle of Hellenistic culture would have been Hellenistic cities, of which there were none in the interior of Galilee.[240] Alternatively, Chancey's most influential vehicle of culture is the Roman army, which he argues would not have had a significant presence in Galilee in the first century.[241] Sanders, on the other hand, thinks that a "serious effort towards Hellenization" would have required Roman architecture, specifically a *gynmasion*. By casting cities, a military presence, and *gymnasia* as metonyms for Hellenization, these scholars strategically create a straw man argument that they can easily refute.

How might Q contribute to the axial descriptions of Galilean culture? First as noted, Q is a Jewish document, showing an awareness of Jerusalem and the Temple, and so we can also surmise it is aware of Jewish culture in general. On the other hand, Q's rhetoric has also been compared to Cynic-style discourse.[242] Even though the Cynic analogy is not a direct identification of the Q people with Cynics, we might assume the Q people were somewhat familiar with that form of rhetoric. Moreover, the fact that Q was written in Greek, although not necessarily a direct indicator of culture as I have argued,

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[240] Freyne, *Galilee From Alexander the Great to Hadrian*, 101-54.

[241] Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*, 68-69.

[242] See Kloppenborg's helpful discussion in *Excavating Q* (420-32).

suggests at least a need to communicate with a Hellenistic culture. Thus, Q undermines the notion that these two cultural tendencies are somehow incompatible.

As with the rural or urban nature of Galilee, a Jewish or Hellenistic Galilee accomplishes certain contextual work for the setting of nascent Christianity too. If Galilee is notably Jewish, this conception of Jewish Christianity allows modern Christians to embrace the entirety of Judaism in their heritage, much along the lines of what Arnal argues in *The Symbolic Jesus*.[243] It also thus validates Christianity as a legitimate reform movement of Judaism.

If, on the other hand, Galilee's Hellenistic qualities are emphasized, Christianity is imagined to emerge in a vibrant multi-cultural setting, being constantly exposed to new intellectual and philosophical ideals. It has more models of social formation with which to experiment. It is cosmopolitan and worldly, and is seen as a new social order in itself, not simply a Jewish renewal movement. Ultimately, it seems idealistic to assume that Hellenism would not have permeated Galilee. Moreover, the assumption that Jewish culture was *inherently* opposed to Hellenistic culture creates a false dichotomy; on the contrary, Q demonstrates an obvious Jewish identity but also familiarity with an urbanizing, Hellenistic environment. Indeed many scholars are starting to see that Jewishness and Hellenism are not mutually exclusive cultures. Moreland sums up this recent perspective well: "Was Galilee Jewish? Yes! Was Galilee Hellenistic? Yes!"[244]

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[243] Arnal, *The Symbolic Jesus*, 56-69.

[244] Moreland, "Archaeology in New Testament Courses," 148.

3. Religion/Ethnicity: Judean or Northern Israelite Inhabitants

Even if Galilee's Jewishness is taken as fact, and I think it should be, the question of *what kind* of Jews inhabited the region frequently accompanies it. Scholars are divided over whether Galilean inhabitants were Judean Jews who resettled a sparsely populated Galilee during the Hasmonean expansion or Northern Israelite descendants who were ethnically continuous with the Galilean population prior to the Assyrian conquest c. 730 B.C.E. This is, according to Horsley, a central question for Galilean history and its relationship with Judea.[245]

Horsley suggests that the notion of the Assyrian deportation of the entire Galilean population after their conquest is inaccurate. First, he argues that the biblical evidence (2 Kings 15:29; 17:6, 23) should not be taken at face value. He suggests that perhaps the Assyrians might have deported only the elites not the entire population. Moreover, he argues that there appear to be Assyrian administration outposts in Galilee, indicating that a substantial population must have remained to be under their administration. Consequently, the Galilean population in the first century was ethnically continuous with that prior to and remaining after the Assyrian conquest.[246] Thus, Galilee in the first century was comprised of a predominantly Northern Israelite population, whose culture had developed independently of Judea for centuries. When the Hasmonean regime expanded and tried to exert power in the region, Galileans were understandably hostile and resentful towards Judean rule. It is this religio-political dimension which marks

[245] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 22.

[246] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 22-23.

Horsley's understanding of Galilean Jews' relationship to Judean Jews; consequently, it is this religious tension, he argues, that we see expressed in Q.

This hypothesis is in part an attempt to recognize the regional distinction of Galilee, which has frequently been ignored.[247] It also recognizes the distinct social and cultural experiences of Judean Jews who experienced the Babylonian Exile. Other scholars, however, argue that a Northern Israelite population of Galilee is unsubstantiated by the evidence. For instance, Reed notes that the archaeological evidence for Galilean settlements drops dramatically to almost non-existence immediately after the Assyrian conquest.[248] Moreover, the archaeological evidence for Galilean settlements appears to resume during the Hasmonean expansion, wherein apparent Gentile sites were abandoned as Jews resettled the area.[249] And finally, the archaeological profiles of Galilean sites are notably similar to Judean sites, especially with respect to chalk vessels, stepped plastered pools, secondary burial with ossuaries in loculi tombs, and bone profiles that lack pork.[250] All this is seen to indicate that the pre-Assyrian population was not the same as that of the first century; Galilee was resettled by Judean Jews during the Hasmonean expansion. Thus for Reed and others maintaining a similar position, this archaeological evidence "rules out the hypothesis of an Israelite village culture spanning the Iron Age to the Roman Periods."[251]

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[247] Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee*, 4.

[248] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 30.

[249] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 42.

[250] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 44.

[251] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 34.

Q, unfortunately, does not seem to address this dichotomy. On one hand, Horsley is convinced that Q reflects an Israelite prophetic renewal movement. On the other hand, I have suggested that the Jewish tensions in Q are not the main point of the rhetoric: the socio-economic dimension has greater priority. What is most interesting is the assumption on Horsley's part of cultural continuity between Galilean Jews immediately after the Assyrian conquest (assuming a significant population did remain) and those in the first-century. The significance placed on this continuity assumes a monolithic culture, society, and religion of Galilee's inhabitants over many centuries and also supposes that Judean Judaism is somehow incompatible with Northern Israelite Judaism.

The implications, though, for the setting of embryonic Christianity are significant. If one accepts the position fostered by Horsley, Galilean Christianity is fundamentally opposed to Judean Judaism, because the two developed along separate cultural and religious trajectories for many centuries. This, in turn, leads Horsley to see in Q a prophetic renewal movement which is opposed to Judean elite and priestly classes. On the other hand, if Reed's position (the more popular opinion, it seems) is accepted, then Q, a witness to one of the earliest Jesus movements, can be seen as a product of a Galilee settled by Judean Jews; hence, Q, all too often standing in for the entirety of Christianity,[252] becomes fundamentally embedded in and not the opponent of Judean Judaism. Likewise, Meyers and Strange correctly note what is at stake in interpreting

[252] This conclusion is only drawn when one traces the development of Christianity backwards. This move is methodologically problematic, but all too common in the study of early Christianity. Under this view, Q becomes the embryonic spark of that which later became canonical Christianity, despite the fact that in order to end up in the canon Q underwent significant alterations by the authors of Matthew and Luke. Nevertheless, because segments of Q became central to the canonical narrative, Q is made to stand in for the entirety of nascent Christianity.

Galilean Jewishness: "Much of this boils down to an identification of the type of Judaism represented by Jesus, the apostles, and the New Testament writers who are Jewish."[253]

Q, as an artefact of Galilee, shows that, for the most part, these controlling paradigms are false dichotomies, based on modern assumptions about social, cultural, and economic interaction. I do not think, with the possible exception of the argument for the Northern Israelite population in Galilee, that any of the dichotomies are wholly wrong or useless, however; they merely emphasize different aspects of Galilee, frequently with the goal of furthering a certain conception of Christian origins. It is possible, I think, especially with the evidence from Q, to say that Galilee was at once urban, rural, Jewish, and Hellenistic. In short, we are dealing with a region far more socially and culturally complex than is often recognized.

Theological Assumptions

Galilee is not a neutral subject. As demonstrated, modern constructions have certain implications for conceptions of nascent Christianity and Second Temple Judaism. More problematic, however, is that the growing interest in Galilee appears frequently to rely on the assumption that Galilee is the origin of the historical Jesus and so must be important for understanding early Christianity.[254] The connection between Q, Galilee, and Jesus is often taken as self-evident. Scholars such as those involved in the Jesus Seminar, among many others, display a renewed confidence that Q is a fruitful cache of potentially

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[253] Meyers and Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis, and Early Christianity*, 27.

[254] "Frequently" must be emphasized, because while Galilee seems to be notably central to studies on the historical Jesus, the region is also important as the setting of nascent rabbinic Judaism. This section, however, addresses only theological assumptions in studies focusing on Jesus in Galilee.

"authentic"[255] Jesus material. Although this is methodologically problematic,[256] Q is seen as a possible source for the historical Jesus, and accordingly, the more Q becomes identified with Galilee, so also does the historical Jesus enter more into the picture. Put differently, if Galilee is the setting of Q and the historical Jesus is presumed to be the "main character" of Q, the setting of Q becomes, for many, intimately related to the historical Jesus.

The titles of many important works on the topic evince the conclusion that Galilee and the historical Jesus are frequently connected: Reed's *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, Richard Batey's *Jesus and the Forgotten City: New Light on Sepphoris and the Urban World of Jesus*, Chancey's *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*, and Horsley's *History, and Society in Galilee: The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis*, to name only a few. The assumption appears to be, then, that knowing about Galilee is equated with knowing about Jesus and consequently the beginnings of Christianity.

The inundation of material devoted to the setting of Q, to the context of Jesus, and to Galilee is a noteworthy attempt to emphasize non-theological factors at work in the formation of Galilean Christianity. Instead of trying to explain the success of the movement by the attractiveness of theological ideas, these new works appeal to political, social, cultural, and economic influences. Even though Jesus is still seen as the "prime mover" of Christianity, this new method tries to account for the political, social, cultural, and economic milieu that would have shaped his words and actions. Contextual

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[255] I find the term "authentic" intrinsically problematic, because it is imbued with theological judgments. To say that some aspect of early Christianity is more "authentic" than another presumes a correct form or expression of Christianity against which all others must be measured. "Authentic" seems to be just another way of saying "orthodox."

[256] Herbert Berg and Sarah Rollens, "The Historical Muhammad and the Historical Jesus: A Comparison of Scholarly Reinventions and Reinterpretations," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* (forthcoming).

influences frequently are ignored in favour of theological ideas and concerns.[257] However, theological ideas emerge in and depend on their social and cultural environment, and so, in many ways, the recent emphasis on sociological and cultural studies in Galilee is welcomed.

Nevertheless, this methodological move often still carries implicit theological assumptions. At its most basic level, this method presumes that knowing about the historical Jesus can explain Christianity. While many scholars would agree with this position, I find it problematic on several levels. First, to assume that Jesus and his actions can explain the entirety of Christianity is wishful thinking and, ultimately, is a theological position.[258] Second, it assumes that one exceptional individual causes a social movement, which is rarely the case.[259] Third, this method actually undermines what it set out to do in the first place, to integrate contextual data. That is, by clinging to the second assumption of the importance of a single individual for creating social movements, the theoretical perspective still ultimately revolves around the theological centrality of Jesus and his actions.

As Meyers and Strange point out, the import of Galilee is nowhere reflected in ancient sources to the extent that modern scholars emphasize it: "The term 'Jesus the

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[257] So also, Meyers and Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis, and Early Christianity*, 22.

[258] As I have argued elsewhere ("The Historical Muhammad and the Historical Jesus"): "To make that claim [of the centrality of Jesus] is to make the same claim the early communities that produced our main sources did, and so to share in large measure their theological perspective." Likewise, Arnal, *The Symbolic Jesus*, 77: "The historical relevant and interesting causes of the development and growth of the Christian movement will be found, not in the person of Jesus, but in the collective machinations, agenda, and vicissitudes of the movement itself."

[259] Arnal, *The Symbolic Jesus*, 76: "The notion that individuals *cause* or *found* religious movements is itself open to question on theoretical grounds." This assumption ignores important concepts, such as social validation, social legitimation, group identity, and shared symbolic systems, which all contribute to successful social formation. One individual cannot accomplish these things single-handedly.

Galilean' appears to be the creation of modern scholarship which has frequently sought to understand Jesus in his special Galilean context."[260] Thus, the fixation and emphasis on Galilee as the proper background to Jesus is a modern fascination.

So it seems appropriate to ask, why Galilee? A few tentative conclusions may be suggested. First, the emphasis on Galilee appears to bolster the unique identity of Jesus. Jesus could also be described as a "Mediterranean Jewish peasant"[261] or a Palestinian Jew, but to affix "of Galilee" to Jesus' title functions to set him apart, along with the regional distinction of Galilee. Second, the emphasis on Galilee might be an implicit rejection of the theological designation "Jesus of Nazareth," a term which affirms theological beliefs (e.g. Mt 2:23: "There he made his home in a town called Nazareth, so that what had been spoken through the prophets might be fulfilled, 'He will be called a Nazorean.'"). Not only might scholars be hesitant to use the term "Jesus of Nazareth" because of its theological affirmations, but also many have recently come to see that Nazareth has yielded few results for explaining Christianity and Jesus. Third, as I have suggested in discussing the various portrayals of Galilee, to say that Jesus is "of Galilee" allows the modern scholar to apply a wealth of contextual data to Jesus' life that might otherwise have been unavailable. That is, once Jesus is known as a "Galilean," one can make all sorts of other seemingly logical implications about his life, his personality, and his mission. It is a shrewd approach, because we have so little evidence for the historical Jesus, but it is, in my opinion, ultimately not methodologically responsible or defensible. Fourth and finally, affixing "of Galilee" makes the work appear historical in motivation

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[260] Meyers and Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis, and Early Christianity*, 35.

[261] As argued by Crossan in *The Historical Jesus*.

and methodology, as opposed to theological, in much the same way that the "quest for the historical Jesus" seems to obfuscate the theological nature of the enterprise

The emphasis on Galilee, though, also rests on a more fundamental assumption of geographical determinism. Scholars very confidently assume that contextual data will automatically provide explanations. Reed, for instance, comments, "By geographically locating the text of Q, an interpretive die is cut whereby its sayings are understood, whether against a particular religious-cultural background, or within a specific socio-economic setting."[262] The scholar's role as the interpreter is central. Were the empirical evidence able to speak adequately for itself, we would not have such disparate reconstructions of the Galilee. The need to provide a geographical setting *for Jesus*, moreover, again seems to assume theological significance. As Meyers and Strange opine, "The persistence of certain views which might best be described as deriving from a sort of geographical determinism, such as the view that Galilee had special theological significance in the messianic scheme of things, requires an evaluation in light of topographical and archaeological study."[263]

The assumption of geographical determinism is partially warranted: indeed, a significant amount of this thesis has assumed that Galilean society and economy explain Q's rhetoric. On the other hand, geographical determinism with respect to a single individual is a much more tenuous argument. Trying to explain Jesus by his geographical provenance is sometimes fruitless. For instance, Crossan's wide-reaching work on the historical Jesus, while integrating vast amounts of anthropological and social data,

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[262] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 170-71.

[263] Meyers and Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis, and Early Christianity*, 35.

ultimately fails to explain Jesus by appealing to geographical determinism; Jesus as a "Mediterranean Jewish peasant" is about as banal a conclusion as one can get. Horsley smartly compares this method to describing a historical figure such as Abraham Lincoln by the title such as "North American Illinois farmer": it yields a description that is far too vague and ultimately of no use.[264] Accordingly, the assumption that Jesus is wholly determined by his geographical provenance is limited.

Whether discussions of Galilee will ever be shed of their theological overtones, we should expect that Galilee should continue to occupy modern scholars' attention because of its relationship with early Christianity and rabbinic Judaism. Instead of only being tenuously connected with the region, Q now stands as an autonomous Galilean artefact, which can contribute to modern reconstructions.

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[264] Richard A. Horsley, "Jesus and Galilee: The Contingencies of a Renewal Movement," in *Galilee Through the Centuries: Confluence of Cultures* (ed. Eric M. Meyers; Duke Judaic Studies 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999) 58.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has discussed Q *in Galilee*. The importance of this geographical qualification is of vital importance. Q is a product of a specific place and time, and scholars should not seek to mould its perspective or theology to any idealized conception of Christian origins. Gone are the days when scholars considered Q a secondary document or when they tried to rationalize why the text does not contain a passion narrative. Q is now allowed to stand alone, as an autonomous document with its own distinct perspective and theology.

By viewing Q in this way, then, I have focused on Q's awareness of and critical stance towards encroaching urbanization. The text of Q contains much evidence that demonstrates that its authors were familiar, often uncomfortably so, with an urban way of life. When situated in a carefully nuanced reconstruction of Galilean society and economy, there is much support for the contention that the Q people were facing imminent changes in their way of life. In other words, the authors composed Q with a view towards critiquing the contemporary social changes and embracing a more traditional, if only idealized, version of their history. The kingdom of God was their imagined social vision, marked by apparent equality and natural relationships. Yet, no matter how much they yearned for this idealized version of life (whether imagined in the past or projected into the future), they were still clearly engaged with the socio-economic structure of their present.

Closely related to the issue of Q in Galilee is the question of *which* reconstructed Galilee is most accurate. As I have demonstrated, modern reconstructions of Galilee vary

and, more importantly, seem to be motivated more by their consequences for explaining emerging Christianity than by the available evidence. These modern reconstructions are rarely wholly inaccurate, but the aspects that scholars choose to emphasize are telling. The description of Galilee is not something that arises automatically from the archaeological and literary sources; as I have demonstrated, preconceived notions of early Christianity, as well as modern assumptions about how social formations develop shape how these sources are interpreted. I have sought to sort through these various depictions of Galilee's presumed urban or rural dichotomy. My conclusion does not suggest a dichotomy, for the authors of Q were neither wholly rural nor comfortably urban. What seems to have influenced them most were the issues arising from the transition, that is, the process of urbanization.

Just as significant as the topics I have addressed here are those that still require further research. It remains to be seen, for example, if the Q people are representative of the Galilean response to urbanization or if they are atypical. I have suggested that the Q people's perspective might be representative of most Galileans, but others would certainly disagree. Moreover, it is also still uncertain what the exact nature of the relationship between Galilee and Judea was. This point, although not essential for this thesis, is important for understanding Q's rhetoric as well, for the text contains evocative references to Jerusalem and the Temple.

All these questions are significant for studies on Q, but they can only be answered when Q's original context is better understood. Despite the limited evidence, a distinctive Galilee is starting to emerge from the sources. And although Galilee's distinctive regional characteristics have been recognized, it is no longer plausible to

assume that it was an inward-looking, isolated, traditionalist region. The Q people may have touted their apparent traditionalism in their rhetoric, but they were nevertheless influenced by changing cultural and economic forces.

In sum, it is my position that the present study on Q in Galilee highlights the document's distinctive response to a specific set of social and economic circumstances. Understanding urbanization in first-century Galilee contributes much to explaining the attitudes seen in Q. The success of Christianity cannot be attributed to the attractiveness of one message or the wondrous deeds of one person. Rather, the explanatory factors of Christianity's success are to be found a complex matrix of social, cultural, economic, political, and historical factors. And Q and Galilee are two key factors in that matrix.

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